

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

# The Arena

VOL. 39

APRIL, 1908

No. 221

## THE RESURRECTION OF GALVESTON.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

**G**ALVESTON is built upon the island of Galveston, which is about thirty miles long, with an average width of from two to two and one-half miles, the widest part being five miles and the narrowest about a mile and a half. The city is at the extreme east end of the island and is about a mile and a half wide and four miles long, and comprises, in the terms of the original grant, a "league and labore." The league comprises 4,444 acres and labore 170 acres. It has both a Gulf and a Bay front. Being thus practically surrounded by salt water and subject to the breezes that alternately play from the Gulf to the Bay and the Bay to the Gulf, a temperate climate is produced that cannot be surpassed in healthfulness by any city in the world.

The population of Galveston before the storm of September, 1900, was from 40,000 to 45,000. In that storm some 6,000 people lost their lives. As soon as it was possible for many of those who had been made homeless to get away, a great exodus took place. In a short time, therefore, the population was reduced to from 20,000 to 25,000 people. The present population is from 35,000 to 37,500, and steadily increasing.

Owing to its location directly on the Gulf of Mexico, Galveston is peculiarly fitted to do a large seaport business, and its record during the past year shows an increase little less than marvelous. It ranks second among United States ports in the value of foreign exports; eighth among the ocean and gulf ports in all import matters, and thirteenth among customs districts. It holds fourteenth place among the ports of the world in the extent of its foreign trade. In the exportation of cotton and cotton-seed products it holds first place in the world.

Galveston's steamship service is large and constantly increasing. It has twenty nine lines in the foreign trade, two of which are newly established. It has six steamers each way to and from New York, besides all the chartered steamers and sailing vessels engaged in the coast-wise trade.

Hence it will be seen that Galveston is a great port and that a large portion of its interests are centered around the wharves and railway sheds. The wharves and docks are particularly interesting.

In the year 1890 the United States Government commenced building two jetties leading from the bay into the gulf;



SEA WALL, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

the one on the north being five miles in length, and the one on the south seven miles in length. These two jetties, one extending seaward from Boliver Point, and the other from Galveston Island, were for the purpose of increasing the velocity of the tidal flow with a view of removing the sand bars at the entrance to the harbor. The jetties, aided by dredging, have accomplished the desired results, and there is now a channel depth of approximately thirty feet, thus permitting the largest vessels to come to anchor at the city's wharves.

These jetties were severely damaged by the storm of 1900, and at an expenditure of a million and a half dollars the government has reconstructed them and has also appropriated and is now expending another million and a half in widening the harbor channel to a uniform width of 1,200 feet and giving it a uniform depth of thirty feet.

The jetties are built of granite with a sandstone core, being capped with granite rocks weighing from eight to eleven tons. As some of these caps were removed in the storm, none of the new caps are less than ten to twelve tons.

In order to protect the city from further inundation from any extraordinary storm on the Gulf of Mexico, the citizens of the county of Galveston petitioned the State legislature to empower them to issue bonds to build a sea wall that would effectually bar out future floods. The United States Government was also asked to aid, by extending the sea wall in front of its property. Realizing to the full the importance of Galveston as her greatest seaport, Texas gave the requisite power, and the United States Government also undertook to do its share of this necessary protective work.

The great sea wall is man's defiance





GRESHAM HOME, GALVESTON, TEXAS

to the powers of nature. It must be remembered that it was not a tidal wave, as so many people suppose, that destroyed Galveston. It was a wave piled up by the force of a hurricane that swept up from the gulf. The city was built on the harbor side of the island, but all along the ocean side and on that frontage were many shanties and small houses, many of them lifted by short piling above normal high-water mark. This seldom reaches above four or five feet above mean low tide. The extreme high tide of 1875 was 9.5 feet, and of 1886 9 feet. When the flood of 1900 came it was 15.7 feet above mean low tide, and therefore swept these ocean-fronted shanties to destruction and passed almost completely over the whole island. The sea wall, to meet future contingencies, was made 17 feet above mean gulf level. In front of the concrete wall and leading up to it is an apron of granite riffraff, 27 feet

wide and from three to six feet thick, resting on the beach.

Adjoining the wall, which is four and one-half miles long, is a boulevard 100 feet wide, partitioned as follows. Closest to the ocean and next to the wall is a sixteen-feet wide concrete sidewalk, protected by a heavy iron railing on the sea wall; next comes the paved road, 54 feet wide, followed by a parkway 30 feet wide. The ladies of the city have undertaken to plant out this parkway in trees, flowers and grass and keep it in good condition. It will thus make one of the most beautiful ocean promenades and driveways in the United States and afford incalculable pleasure to countless thousands.

In order to make it perfectly clear to my readers how a boulevard 100 feet wide can be at the top of the sea wall, it is well to explain in advance that the level of the island behind the wall is



COURT HOUSE, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

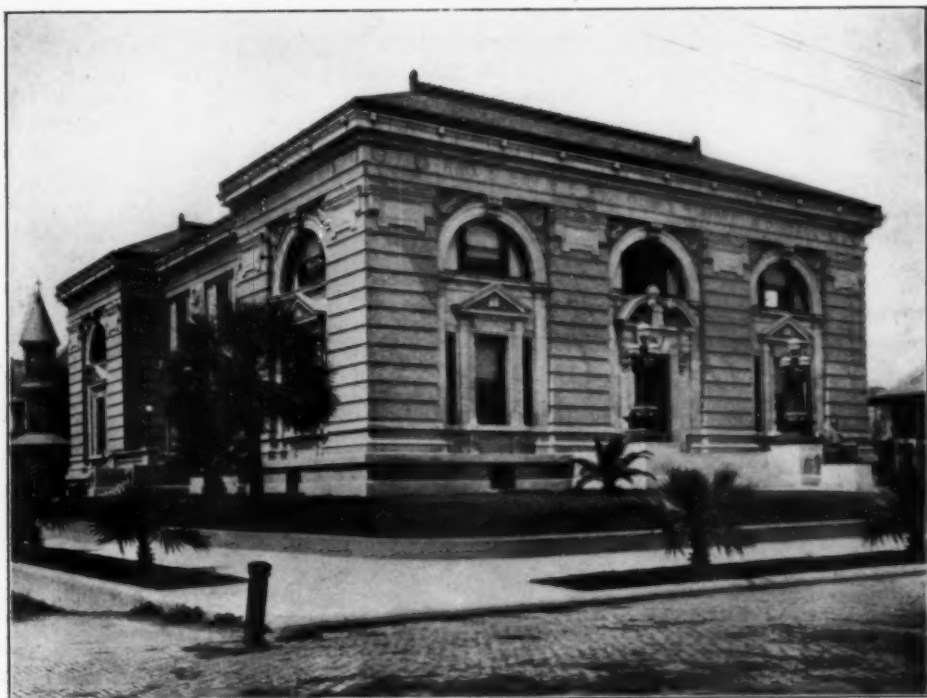
being raised to correspond to the height of the wall itself.

The wall was completed two years ago. About three and one-half miles of it were built by the county of Galveston at a cost of a million and a half dollars, and the other mile by the United States Government at a cost of about three-quarters of a million dollars. The legislature authorized the issuance by the county of four per cent. bonds for the needful amount, nearly all of which were subscribed for at par by the citizens of Galveston at a time when the credit of the city and county were both nil. Before the sea wall was completed the bonds were being bought in all the markets of the world at par.

So it was with the city bonds. Prior to the reorganization of the city government these were as low as 60 per cent. and 65 per cent. They are now being sold at a premium, 102 to 103 being the lowest prices.

When the wall was completed the necessity for the raising of the grade of the city was more than ever apparent. With keen foresight the leaders,—banded together as the Deep-Water Committee—had already prepared the way fully and completely. Section 68 of the new charter of 1903 conferred upon the Board of Commissioners the power to appoint a board of engineers, and they were empowered to issue five-per cent. bonds for two million dollars, payable not more than fifty years after their date, to be sold at not less than par, the proceeds of which were to be used and expended for raising and filling the grades of the city.

When this question of raising the grade of the city was being considered, those who were giving it their especial attention soon found that various difficulties of a legal nature as well as the tremendous expense and great inconvenience it would



ROSENBERG LIBRARY, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

be to the people of the city, stood in their way. The constitution of the state provides that money once paid into the state treasury cannot be paid out except for a special appropriation made by law and the legislature has no authority to make an appropriation for a longer term than two years. This instrument also prohibits the legislature from giving or lending the credit of the state in aid of any person, corporation, or municipality, and forbids the pledging of the credit of the state for the payment of the liabilities of any individual, municipality, or other corporations. It exercised the ingenuity of the legal members of the committee to devise a way by means of which these wise constitutional provisions could be so adjusted as to meet the special necessities of the stricken city.

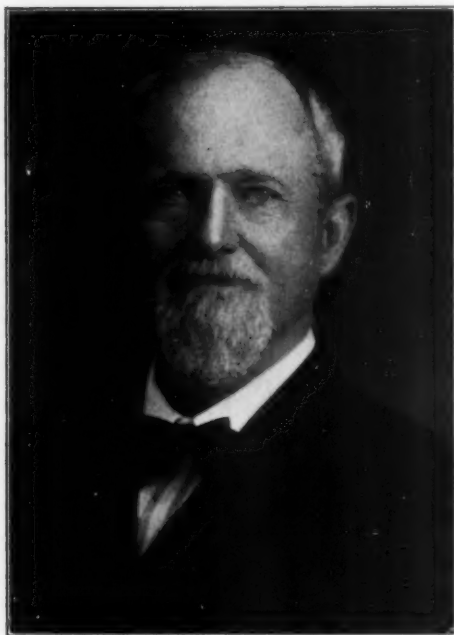
The state was asked to donate to the city of Galveston all taxes to which it was entitled from the County of Galves-

ton, except those that pertained to local needs, such, for instance, as schools, etc., for the space of eighteen years; and to authorize the state tax collector to pay these state taxes direct to the city treasurer instead of to the treasurer of the state.

When the members who had this matter in hand suggested it to the committee, they were almost laughed to scorn. The largeness of the request seemed to be its own condemnation, but Colonel Walter Gresham, who has been foremost in the upbuilding of Galveston, and his coadjutors were fully aware of the fact that large expectations often generate large responses.

An amusing incident occurred in the committee room, which one of the members told to me, which illustrates how, even among these, the battle for this large improvement had to be fought. There were nine members present when the thing was finally decided, and one of

those who opposed it was one of the most forward and progressive men of the city, Colonel W. L. Moody. His opposition was based upon the ground that it seemed unreasonable to ask for so large a thing from the politicians of the whole state. At last, Colonel Gresham turned to him and said, "But even you, Colonel Moody, have often said that you could always get what you wanted by persistent asking for it." With dignified language, but in most determined manner, Colonel Moody denied that he had ever made such a remark. Again Mr. Gresham insisted that he felt sure he had heard that sentiment fall from Colonel Moody's lips many times. Again Colonel Moody denied that the words were ever used by him, and for some four or five minutes the two gentlemen, in the most courteous and positive way argued that the other was mistaken, until the rest of the members of the committee began to feel a little uncomfortable. At length,



COL. WALTER GRESHAM, GALVESTON, TEXAS  
WHO WAS THE PRIME MOVER IN THE  
NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY.

in desperation, Mr. Gresham asked: "Well, Colonel Moody, what was it that you did say?" Without the shadow of a smile, but with a twinkle in his eyes, that at once revealed the secret of his pertinacity he pointed to Colonel Gresham and sententiously exclaimed: "I have never said that I got what I asked for, but that *you* always got what *you* asked for."

With this large faith, Colonel Gresham and Mr. Clarence Ousley went to the legislature and to the great delight of the citizens of Galveston, their request was generously granted.

This was a gift from the people of Texas to the stricken city, estimated to be worth fully two million dollars, for, as the taxable values of the county increase, the amount remitted will correspondingly increase. The act of the legislature also provided for the bonding of this gift by the city in the sum of two million dollars. This was done and contracts called for to grade the city to the required level. The contractors were asked to take half their pay in cash and half in the city bonds, and such was their confidence in the men who are now directing the city's finances, that they agreed to do this. The taxes thus remitted amounted to about \$85,000 in 1906. Thus it will be seen that the bonds, while issued by the city, are practically guaranteed by the state.

Colonel Gresham is one of those far-seeing men whose presence in a community is a constant inspiration to those citizens who can never see beyond their own immediate profit. As early as 1887 he began to plan large things for the city's future. When he advocated the deepening of the harbor to 30 feet he stood almost alone, and the most sanguine of Galveston's citizens begged him only to ask for 18 feet. Yet his large claims are now fully justified and the United States Government is now contemplating the extension of the jetties far enough to obtain a uniform depth in the harbor of 35 feet at mean low tide.



BALL HIGH SCHOOL, GALVESTON, TEXAS.



ROSENBERG HIGH SCHOOL, GALVESTON, TEXAS.





BEACH, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

When the Grade-Raising Board first began operations, some of the people would not understand or believe what was going on. They refused to raise their houses and were somewhat disconcerted and horrified to find the wet sand being poured around them. It did not take them long to realize that the board "meant business," and after that first experience no one has given any trouble.

In filling in so as to raise the grades it can well be seen that most, if not all, of the gardens, trees and lawns of the city were destroyed, as well as all the shade trees that had been planted along the streets. Galveston has long been noted for its palms, oleanders, magnolias and other semi-tropical trees, and to destroy them has been a great grief to all concerned. But it was one of the lesser evils that had to be as cheerfully submitted to as possible in order to protect

against the greater evil, and time will cooperate with the earnest endeavors of the people and soon restore the beauty that has been destroyed. Nay, it will be enhanced and increased by the material improvements that are now so rapidly nearing completion.

While the grade was being raised the city authorities took the opportunity to improve and enlarge the sewerage system, and now, as the large extent of the former has been finished, the city rejoices in a perfect and sanitary sewerage, which, as soon as the whole of the grading is done, will be as thorough and complete as that of any city of its size in the country.

Another great improvement is now about to be begun. The various railways that enter Galveston all converge to Virginia Point on the mainland, and then across the bay on trestles. The legislature has already passed a bill author-



SACRED HEART CHURCH, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

izing the county of Galveston to issue bonds for the construction of a magnificent causeway, 140 feet wide, to take the place of this railway trestle. It will probably have a concrete base with a superstructure of granite, and will not only allow a proper space for the tracks of all the railways, but will make a fine boulevard for riding, driving or automobiling. The railways will be required to do their share of the work, and they have all expressed themselves as heartily in favor of the project. A certain width of this will be set aside as parking, where grass, trees and flowers will be planted. It will thus afford a solid and beautiful avenue leading from the islands to the mainland.

On the 27th of March, 1907, the State Legislature passed an act validating a conveyance from the city of Galveston, vesting the title to 1,000 acres of land in the United States Government for a naval

reserve station. This action was required by Congress before it would authorize the spending of more Federal money on the widening and deepening of the harbor channel.

The United States Government has three forts at Galveston. Fort San Jacinto, on the east end of the island, has 700 acres of land connected with it. It is the intention of the government to build a sea wall from the western jetty around in front of the fort to the south, and then to the western limit of the property. The enclosed area will then be raised to the same level as the city and fully improved,—planted with trees, shrubs, flowers and grass. This has already been done at Fort Crockett at the western limit of the city.

When this plan is carried out it will leave a space of three-quarters of a mile between the government sea wall and that of the city. Some 1,700 acres is



URSULINE CONVENT, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

included in this area. Colonel Gresham is working on a plan to have the government sea wall extended to the city wall fill up the space to the city level and convert the whole into a magnificent park, 700 acres of it to be used as a military park and reservation, and the other 1,000 acres by the city.

The city is provided with water from thirty artesian wells, which are located on the mainland, some eighteen miles away. Each of these wells is from 600 to 800 feet deep and the water is brought through 30-inch pipes, which pass for two miles under Galveston Bay to large and adequate reservoirs in the heart of the city. The water is of excellent quality and there is more than enough at the present time for a population of five times the present number. The city also owns in the artesian belt a large amount more of water-bearing land, so that there will be no difficulty in

making water provision for a population of a quarter of a million.

In general appearance the island on which Galveston is built reminds one of Manhattan Island. But the City of New York is built north and south, the island lying that way, while Galveston island lies broadside to the Gulf, and the city is built, therefore, east to west.

Should the population increase, as it is perfectly possible it may, until Galveston becomes the main seaport of the Southwest, the island will become as crowded as is Manhattan. Then the Bolivar peninsula on the east side of the harbor entrance will be invaded, and the mainland to the north of the island, which latter, as I have elsewhere stated, is soon to be connected with the island by the elaborate 140-foot wide concrete and granite causeway.

The city is therefore surrounded on three sides (and should it ultimately



UNIVERSITY, GALVESTON, TEXAS

cover the western part of the island, on four sides) with salt water in constant motion with the tides, thus providing a perfect drainage and also an abundance of deep sea fish. The temperature of the sea water materially affects the temperature of the city, and aids in keeping it uniform. In 1906 the highest temperature in October was 77 degrees Fahrenheit, and the lowest 65 degrees. In November the highest was 74 degrees, the lowest 60 degrees. In December the highest was 73 degrees, the lowest 54 degrees. The value of this nearly uniform temperature as a health asset cannot be overestimated.

From the foregoing recital of facts it will be seen that Galveston has been concerned during the past few years in the making of needed material improvements that were essential for the safety, health, prosperity and general well-being of the city. Advantage has been taken,

where possible, of opportunities for its beautification, as on the sea-wall esplanade. But in the line of parks Galveston has not yet had time or opportunity to give such matters much consideration. She has three small parks, but they are not improved and are practically ignored.

Now that her city government has placed her financially in a good condition, it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when parks, boulevards and the improvement of all public grounds and school yards will be taken in hand with the same vigor, good sense and thoroughness that have characterized her recent actions. This feature, the esthetic and artistic, is the only one in which Galveston is now deficient. In the essential and primary work of safeguarding the city from future tides, in raising the level, in providing adequate sewerage and water systems, and all such things, it was right that all second-



SEALY HOSPITAL, GALVESTON, TEXAS.

any matters be ignored. But now that these are satisfactorily accomplished or well under way, it is equally important that the beauty of the city be considered. A thoughtful survey of the situation now, a proper grasping of her growth and future needs, and a large and comprehensive plan of park and similar improvements, can be outlined at a com-

paratively trivial cost, which, in a couple of generations will have more than quadrupled their cost and have provided for all time the breathing and beauty spots without which no well-ordered city can properly exist.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

*Pasadena, California.*



## INDIA'S COMING GREATNESS FROM A CONSTRUCTIVE VIEW-POINT.

By SAINT NIHAL SING.

CURRENT literature regarding to-day in India paints a gloomy picture of the country and its people. Press dispatches and feature articles dwell on the fearful poverty of the teeming millions in Hindostan, who suffer from perpetual famine, and describe the educated community as seething with political agitation and ferment, leaving a strong, subconscious effect upon the reader's mind that the land is in a chaotic state—going backward, at least *not forward*.

Of the present affairs in India about all that is known in America is that the educated people of Hindostan are seemingly satisfied with merely carrying on wordy warfare over political questions and concerning themselves with arraignment of the British administrators of Hindostan for inaugurating a reign of Czarist terrorism in the country. The impression is deepening in the minds of American people who take interest in the march of world events that the disaffection of the intelligent classes of India from the English Government necessarily involves volcanic conditions in the country and an ignominious fate for the nation, as a natural sequence.

In the paper, "Unrest in India, Its Genesis and Trend, as an Expatriated East Indian Sees It,"\* the attempt was made to show that Hindostan is in no danger of once again being steeped in the Cimmerian darkness of the Middle Ages and becoming a prey to anarchy and lawlessness.

In the present article the writer submits a brief of uplift and optimism. He raises the contentions:

I: That, the so-called political fer-

ment at present prevailing in Hindostan presages a period of construction and well-being;

II: That India is rapidly awakening to a full sense of its opportunities and responsibilities, and there is palpable and irrefutable evidence that the people of Hindostan are aggressively engaged in remodeling themselves and their methods according to the most modern and approved patterns; and that, the uplift in the Indian Empire is not confined to a single department of life nor to any one of the numerous congeries of races and castes that constitute the 300,000,000 inhabitants of the country; but that the yeast of evolution is at work everywhere and is leavening all things and all classes.

On account of limited space only the briefest outlines can be presented to the reader; but enough evidence can be brought to bear on the contentions to prove that all influences are combining to raise the country from a slough of despondency and degeneracy and head it toward progress and modernization.

In order to answer the first issue, the political grievances which are agitating the minds of educated Hindostanees, should be examined. These may be succinctly stated in the words of certain resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress in its Calcutta session of 1906.

This body, which meets once a year, is composed of the cream of educated East Indians of all classes, creeds, castes and learned professions, is the pseudo-congress of India—an Assembly of Protest. These resolutions, selected from its sessions of the year before last, are cited because during the last session of the Congress, convened during the last week of the year 1907, they formed

\*See THE ARENA for December, 1907.

the vortex of a cyclonic discussion amongst its members to such an extent that the assembly, which for almost a quarter of a century had held its annual meetings without any serious dissension, had to be adjourned *sine die*. In order to be explicit, it should be stated that almost fifty per cent. of the delegates sent to the 1907 session of the Indian National Congress were so vitally interested and so enthusiastically in favor of the resolutions in question that the rest of the representatives of the people had to consent to the *status quo* of the last Congress either by reaffirming them or by dissolving the body. These resolutions, therefore, are tolerably correct indices of the political demands of the natives of India which are exercising their minds. The seventh resolution read in part:

"That, having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in the Administration and that their representations to the government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of the opinion that the boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of the Province was and is legitimate."

At the same session the Indian National Congress passed another resolution:

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived for people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls, and organize a system of education—literary, scientific and technical—suited to the requirements of the country, on national lines and under national control."

This resolution was formed as the Congress's repeated protests "against the policy of government in respect of high and secondary education as being one of officializing the governing bodies of the universities and restricting the spread of education" were not heeded. The Congress had recommended "that government should take immediate steps for (1) making primary education free

and gradually compulsory all over the country, (2) assigning larger sums of money to secondary education, special encouragement being given where necessary to the education of the backward classes, (3) making the existing universities more free from official control and providing them with sufficient men to take up the work of teaching, (4) making adequate provision for technical education in the different Provinces having regard to local requirements"; and since the alien government paid no attention to these petitions the more than a thousand representatives of the East Indian people avowed their intention of establishing an independent system of national education for the rising generation in India.

Somewhat along these lines another resolution was introduced. This had for its object the vitalizing of Indian industries and giving them a new impetus. Its purpose was to encourage home industries and entreat and counsel the people to use *India-made goods*. It was inaugurated with a view to uphold the *Swadeshi* movement—which may roughly be translated as the movement for the exclusive use of India-made goods—and was worded:

"This Congress accords its most cordial support to the *Swadeshi* movement and calls upon the people of the country to labor to promote its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries, and encourage the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities."

These resolutions were capped by the following:

"That this Congress is of the opinion that the system of government in the self-governing British colonies should be extended to India."

This political platform may lead to dissension in the East-Indian camp, but such division of opinion is an "evidence of life and pluck," and, as an experienced pro-Indian English statesman naively

remarks, "is better than the old dead level of cowardice and stagnation." The political agitation of the people of India reduces itself to this:

That the Government of India should not be administered for the benefit of the English people; that the berths in the Government should not be treated by Britishers as their preserves; that the foreigners should not be permitted to exploit the country as a market for the products of British mills and factories; legislation and the educational system operated with a view to throttling the Indian industries and keeping the Hindostanees ignorant of modern methods employed in farming and manufacturing industries; that the emasculation of East-Indians accomplished by means of depriving them of the privilege of carrying arms and not permitting them to shoulder the responsibilities of their city, provincial and federal governments, be immediately stopped and in its stead India be strictly governed *by and for the people*.

The educated Indians have been carrying on a campaign in this direction for at least a quarter of a century. Their agitation, however, has taken merely the form of supplicating the British Bureaucrats whose policy and administration they criticized. The educated classes of India have been imploring an alien people whose rule was established in Hindostan by a company of commercial men and has been consistently carried on with a view to affording a profitable market for their own manufacturers and capitalists, to *voluntarily* renounce what they have come to regard as their loaves and fishes. The East-Indian political agitator has failed to realize that the interests of the Englishman and himself are at variance. The agitation of a quarter of a century, therefore, has proved a total failure.

Despite the protests of the East-Indian educated men, \$100,000,000 annually go to England, outwardly to pay salaries, pensions *et al*, but virtually as a tribute

from the East-Indian subjects to the British ruler. Regardless of the prayers and even of the protests of the native East Indians, the administrative posts carrying princely salaries have been appropriated by the Englishman; out of 960 of the highest governmental posts in the land, 900 being at present held by aliens and only 60 by natives of the country. In spite of the supplications of the natives, four-fifths of the villages in India continue without a schoolhouse; 145 out of 146 women, and 90 out of 100 men are illiterate, and there is practically no provision made for imparting instruction in up-to-date methods of scientific agriculture and industries. Of the 95,000,000 pounds yearly collected in revenues from the taxpayers of India, more than one-fourth is spent on the army, merely 6,000,000 pounds being appropriated for education.

This unavailing struggle for "India for the East Indians" is responsible for alienating the people of Hindostan from British rule. Daily the breach is widening. As a natural consequence the natives of the land, in increasing numbers, are arriving at the conclusion that something more than mere duelling with words or supplicating the English administration in India or England is required.

East Indians have not succeeded in their quest for a liberal government. In fact, since the beginning of the present campaign for popular administration, the British bureaucracy in charge of Indian affairs has become more autocratic and imperious.

The struggle, however, has not proved abortive. On the contrary, their very failure has been the means of stimulating the pride of the people and inciting them to do constructive work along national lines. It has quickened the land of the Hindoos with a new consciousness and paved the way for future prosperity and ultimate political and economic liberty.

What this new awakening is can best be described by means of an Indian

fable told of two cats who fought over a piece of bread. Each wanted the whole loaf and nearly killed the other in an endeavor to get it. A monkey appeared on the scene. His Christian spirit, unable to brook the sad struggle going on between the cats, he suggested that he would amicably and justly settle the feud. The monkey procured a pair of balances and, intent upon doing justice to the cats, divided the bread into two pieces and put one in each scale. Finding the division was unequal, he bit off a piece of bread from the larger portion and let it slide down his throat, attributing the misappropriation of that piece to a mere accident. The monkey kept up the hypocrisy of dividing and redividing the bread until none was left and the disillusioned cats disappeared having learned a valuable lesson at the expense of losing the entire loaf of bread.

The unsuccessful fight for political freedom is making the Hindostanees remark to themselves that the conduct of the English in India in every particular is the same as that of the monkey in the above fable. The Englishman found the East Indians warring amongst themselves. He evinced the desire to put a stop to the discord between the fighting factions. He promised to manage their estates until they reached the age when they would have sense enough to attend to their own affairs. He showed great concern to educate his wards and protect them from evil influences. He undertook to husband their resources and employ them judiciously so that the estate might grow more valuable. He contracted to protect their property from internal as well as external attack. He promised to train his wards to a sense of responsibility. All this he piously undertook to do because his Christian spirit would not let him rest if he neglected to look after the insane and imbecile heathen inhabitants of Hindostan. It was the "white man's burden" he voluntarily shouldered, the duty of a Christian that made him take the reins of India's

government into his own hands. The East Indian was losing his manhood through internecine lawlessness and his property was going to waste through lack of judgment. Swayed by religious fervor he declared war upon those who were fighting, forced them to desist and began their reorganization on a saner, sounder plan, without any consideration—except the sweet consciousness that pervades the soul when a man selflessly ministers to the helpless without receiving any return for his good deeds.

With child-like credulity East Indians took these professions for principles which were to underlie the policy and actions of the British administration of India. Had the Englishman fulfilled some of his promises the Hindostanees would have continued to believe in his altruistic motives; but his tardiness in meeting his liabilities is making the natives of the land believe that the British promises of liberty, equality and fraternity held out to the East Indians, always have been like the horizon—the nearer you approach the farther they recede.

As a direct result of the political agitation the natives have commenced to realize that they do not wish a "good" government conducted by an alien people; but a government of their own, even if it is corrupt and weak.

Not long ago when an English high official landed in Bombay, the sycophancy of the people of Hindostan expressed itself in an inscription which was worked into a floral arch, and read: "God deliver us from the rule of our own countrymen."

Within ten years the sentiment has become so metamorphosed that not long ago India's Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji, a citizen of the Bombay Presidency, remarked: "Patriotism means making an end of *foreign* rule."

It will be hard for the American reader to realize how colossal this transition is. Through this mental transformation the very shackles that have kept Hindostan from progress and prosperity are now



to be utilized to build a ladder that will lead to future well-being.

The attitude of independence assumed of late by the native East Indian is not merely of a negative character. It is not only proving an incentive to watch the movements of the alien ruler; to distrust him; to cease to help him; to desist from looking up to him for advice, guidance and assistance; but it is positive—it is aggressive—it attempts to checkmate him. The surge of the new spirit is directed toward construction—toward aggressive construction.

The flood, moreover, is not heading toward a single point. Its waters have divided themselves into many channels, draining the manifold departments of life, then collecting into one powerful stream: "India for the East Indians."

Urged by this spirit East Indian young men are no longer contenting themselves with ill-paid berths in the government service; but they are endeavoring to industrially regenerate their country. Already the exodus of East Indian students has commenced to foreign lands such as Japan, the United States, Germany, France and England. Of recent years fewer East Indian students go to England for qualifying themselves as barristers or civil servants than went a decade or two ago. Instead the young men of Hindostan are going to Japan and America with a view to learning farming and manufacturing industries and returning to their native land to give a fresh impetus to agriculture and trades.

India has sent to foreign countries the cream of its young men. Intelligent, hardy and self-sacrificing, these students are doing all in their power to learn the theoretical and practical details of trades and professions. They come from all provinces of India and represent all creeds, religions and races. It is interesting to note that they are not going into merely one or two lines of trade, but are engaged in qualifying themselves for following various callings. In the

middle of 1906, when the writer was in Japan, he made a careful survey of the trades that East-Indian young men were learning in the Mikado's empire. The result of his inquiries are shown in the following table:

Pencil-making, 11; tanning, 7; weaving and spinning, 7; soap-making, 4; knitting, 4; applied chemistry, 4; matches-making, 4; tin-work, 3; horn-work, 2; condensing milk, 2; artificial flower-making, 2; glass-making, 2; ceramics, 2; button-making, 2; agriculture, 2; sericulture, 2; pharmacy, 2; paper-making, 2; mechanical engineering, 2; electrical engineering, 2; mining, 2; lacquering and painting, 2; acid and alkali-making, 1; total, 74.

From more recent investigations it has been learned that the number of students in Japan has considerably been augmented and the young men are learning a large number of trades.

It is noteworthy that amongst the Indian students in Japan there is not one in receipt of a government of India scholarship. About 80 per cent. of the students are supported by public or private stipends; the rest depend upon remittances from parents or guardians.

In America the number of Hindoo students is estimated variously between 200 and 500. The influx is daily growing in volume and before long it is expected that almost every technological and agricultural institute in this country will have a small quota of East-Indian students. Hindoo young men go to Japan through reasons of economy and also because they realize the Pan-Asiatic sentiments of the Japanese; but in the Mikado's Empire they find that their knowledge of English, with which usually they are fully equipped, is practically of no avail and that it is impossible for them to earn their living while pursuing their studies. For this reason America will be the future mecca of the East-Indian student. Here he can manage to pay his way.

It cannot be doubted that these men



will wield an enormous influence on the regeneration of India when they return home. Representatives in the best sense of the word, the professions they are learning are varied and numerous. It is easy to imagine that they will exercise a potent influence on the industries and manufactures of the country when they return with excellent theoretical and practical technical knowledge.

The greatest advantage from a constructive viewpoint which is destined to accrue to India from these young men is that foreign education and travel have tended toward diminishing the caste and racial distinctions which so far have proved the bane of India. These young men, though still professing the religious beliefs of their ancestors, overcome their denominational exclusiveness and intolerance. In Japan, the United States and other countries, they do not live in small groups according to their religions, castes or provinces. So far as they are concerned, caste has lost its hold upon them. The Indian students, on their return to India, therefore will not only be the means of putting new life into the decadent Indian manufactures and industries and opening up new trades and crafts; but by living down caste and racial prejudices they will help to unify the incoherent masses of India and thus pave the way for the regeneration and progress of the country.

Realizing that but a few men could be sent to foreign countries for education and that the bulk of the people will have to be educated at home, the leaders of India are doing their best to make provision for a sensible and patriotic form of education. Recognizing the woeful lack of educational facilities for the masses and the frightful ignorance of the agriculturists, many native states have already provided adequate instructors and schools to impart free primary education to their wards. Feeling that the educational facilities for the masses and educational system administered by the English people in India has failed to

provide technical, industrial and commercial education, efforts are being made to supply this lack in British India. The Bengal National College and School, established in August, 1907, by the national council of education, to mention an instance, is a product of this new spirit. This institution, with which many national schools are affiliated, has been designed, inaugurated and managed solely by the natives of Bengal, and is being run on national lines. The teachers are all prominent educated Bengalees who are working merely for their living expenses. Most of the professors reside on the college campus and thus, through intimate association, are exercising a vital influence upon their pupils. The trade workshops and biological and technical laboratories are doing effective work in equipping the students with modern methods of doing things. At the time of the present writing the institution is exhibiting the results that it has already obtained in the form of implements, apparatus, etc., manufactured by the students under the instruction of the teachers.

On similar lines as this college in Bengal, is conducted the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic college at Lahore at the other extremity of India. It is under purely native management and has a net-work of schools dotted all over the province affiliated with it. A few miles away from this college, at Amritsar, is the headquarters of the great educational institution of the Sikhs, the martial race of the Punjab—the Khalsa College. Almost midway between Amritsar and Calcutta, at Aligarh, the Mahomedans maintain a large and well-organized college. A few hundred miles away is the Central Hindu College at Benares, conducted under the auspices of the Theosophical Society. In the same category is to be classed Ferguson College at Poona, a thousand miles away from the headquarters of the last-named institution. There are other schools of the same kind; but this article does not pre-

tend to catalogue them. These educational institutions financed, managed and conducted by the natives of Hindostan, point out that East Indians are determined to disseminate education along their own lines and for their own people.

These institutes, while steering clear of the rules and regulations laid down by the Government and endeavoring to propagate a system of national education, make a strong feature of instructing the pupil in Western science and methods. On the one hand the purpose is to produce a well-balanced young man capable of supporting himself and his family; on the other, the effort is made to enthuse him to make his life directly and indirectly tend toward the uplift of his neighbors and relatives. The endeavor is made to take everything good from Western nations and influence the malleable minds of young men to become practical; but the instructors constantly bear in mind to accomplish this without losing the national entity of the pupil.

India's rehabilitation hinges solely on the children of the country being given the right kind of preparation for fulfilling the duties that are to fall to them when they step into the shoes of the present generation. It is worthy of remark that the leaders of India have awakened to an animated appreciation of this fact. It is touching to note the spirit of abnegation which both the students and their teachers are displaying. In certain parts of India the people seem to be mad for obtaining knowledge. They are making greater sacrifices to equip themselves with modern education than any other people in the world, with the possible exception of the Japanese.

As a direct result of the demands for instruction made by the natives of India, even the British Government is being goaded into increasing its equipment. Probably within the next decade provision may be made for free and compulsory education throughout India, and the native East Indians may find better

facilities provided in the shape of technical and agricultural institutions.

Awakened India has not only turned its attention towards educating its people, but is also seeking to improve the physiques of its embryonic men and women and adults. With the exception of a limited number of martial people, East Indians possess frail constitutions. If the new spirit which already has given birth to the establishment of athletic clubs for physical exercise keeps growing, the result is sure to be a manly and independent generation.

Probably the most assuring sign of India's coming greatness lies in the fact that the intelligent East Indians have realized the true meaning of the old adage, "Uplift the mass to uplift the country," and have not failed to provide for the advance of womanhood. Girls' schools have been established by philanthropists where they can learn domestic arts, cooking, sewing, nursing and the care of children, and at the same time can pursue academic courses. The best class of educated Hindoos is coming to realize that India's well-being and future prosperity depend more upon the education of women than any other factor. Rulers of native states, especially, are displaying a great deal of interest in female education and the general elevation of East-Indian womanhood. The native chief of the State of Baroda, Sayaji Rao, has introduced what is admitted to be the best educational system for girls in India, both in inception and administration. In this work the Maharajah of Baroda is ably assisted by his consort, the Maharini, who is a splendid type of advanced womanhood, and who takes a foremost place in the work of securing greater liberty for the women of Hindostan.

A great change has taken place in the home life of the natives of India in the last few years. Morning and evening the children of East-Indian gentlemen are taken out for an airing by *ayahs* (nurses). Some men have become so stirred by

the new spirit that is swaying the whole nation that they drive out in open vehicles in the evening accompanied by their wives. The editor of an East-Indian vernacular journal declares:

"A week ago we saw the daughter of a man of position walking with her father on the railway platform at Lahore. She was dressed in what seemed like an English gown, had English shoes on, and when her husband came up left her father and walked with him. Her face was quite uncovered."

Wives go out shoulder to shoulder with their husbands and seemingly have completely cast off the old restrictions. So imbued have many East-Indian women become with the desire for liberty of action that it would be a bold man who would dare to attempt once more to force the old customs on his woman-kind.

The era of reconstruction in India has commenced but recently and only the foundations have been laid in the matter of providing mass and industrial education and uplifting women. Side by side with the uplift in these directions it is interesting to note that, in the ten years ending 1905-1906, the number of registered presses in India increased from 1,966 to 2,380. During the same period the number of newspapers increased from 674 to 747 while periodical publications other than newspapers increased from 510 to 793. The number of books published in English or some other European language grew from 1,067 to 1,411 while a total of 7,644 modern and classical books in the Indian language were published, showing an increase during the ten years of 28 per cent. Books were published in about fifty languages, and there were 777 bi-lingual, 74 tri-lingual and 3 polyglot books in the list.

Considerable effort is being made in India to establish a *Lingua Franca* for the whole country. As it is to-day, a native East-Indian can go from one end of the land to the other without experiencing much difficulty in making himself

understood through the medium of the English language. This is a very hopeful sign. English, being the commercial lingo of two hemispheres, through its agency India will be enabled to come in contact with the outside world. Be this as it may, *Hindi* and *Urdu* are becoming the common mediums of exchange of thought throughout India. It is certain that Hindostan, within a brief term of years, will have a *Lingua Franca* of its own, besides the English, since a strong movement is already on foot to effect this, and is meeting with gratifying success.

This leads up to a word or two about the much-talked-of banes of caste and racial prejudice. Educated East Indians are learning that the present-day exigencies make it necessary for them to be tolerant of one another's religious opinions and descent. They are fast recognizing that the woe of one constitutes the grief of the other, and the weal of one forms the welfare of the other. Community of interests is inciting the native East Indians to strive to have a common language for their use and a common foundation upon which political and economic prosperity may be reared.

At the time of the present writing it happens that the Hindus and Mahommedans, the two largest communities in India in the proportion of 4 to 1 respectively, are showing bitter animosity toward each other. This is ascribed to the political moves of the English people whose salvation, it is claimed by East-Indian writers, depends on their ability to keep the native population divided, thus making it possible for 150,000 foreigners to keep 300,000,000 people in subjugation. Be this as it may, the dissensions amongst Hindus and Mahommedans, calmly considered, are merely extraneous and superficial. They are an indication that race and religious hostility have been doomed to death. A wound always looks ugliest just as it is about to heal, and the present

virulence is but an indication that the breach between the two factions in Hindostan is about to be permanently closed up.

But a few years are needed for the adjustment of the Hindu and Mahomedan interests; and even as it stands to-day, the coming greatness of India is not at all jeopardized by their feuds. If an adjustment could take place in a country such as Canada with its warring elements, the French and English Canadians, there is a strong presumption that history will repeat itself and the discordant parties in India will bury the hatchet.

One sure sign that the caste regulations are losing their grip on the peoples of Hindostan is that from the most remote districts East Indians have commenced to emigrate to far-distant countries. The impression has prevailed that the Native of Hindostan is chained to the home of his ancestors by caste regulations, family ties and village economy. It has come to pass, however, that the Indian, influenced by Western ideals that have drifted to him, finds intolerable the precarious living he is able to eke out, by hard and unremitting labor from his exhausted land or dying industry. The one-time fatalistic native of Hindostan is becoming tainted with discontent and is possessed with a yearning to break through the shell of his limitations which hampers him from achieving, and seek new scenes. The literate and illiterate are being seized with a passion to find new spheres where their work will bring richer results.

While caste prejudices are on the wane amongst the Hindostanees, unfortunately a new caste has sprung up. The rulers and the ruled in India, coming from different continents, speaking different languages, live, as it were, in two distinct worlds. The Englishman, supercilious by nature and training, and the Hindu, polite and cringing in character, have met in India, but have not mixed. A sharp demarcation has grown up,

giving birth to a baneful caste—the caste of the ruler and the ruled. The Englishman in India has remained untouched by the spirit of our times. But the native East Indian is becoming more and more steeped in the democratic spirit. He is growing ashamed of having allowed the Englishman to misconstrue his politeness into abject slavishness.

The educated East Indians demand reciprocity of relations of the Englishman in India. They are ready to prostrate themselves before the Britisher as was their wont, provided the Englishman is willing to respect the Oriental institutions and do the same thing by the natives of the land. The Englishman's unwillingness to meet squarely this new consciousness of Democracy in India is producing much chaos and tribulation.

The ultimate influence of even this new caste, however, is tending toward the uplift of the Hindostanees. It is making the East Indian demand that if the British colonists exclude natives of Hindostan from their soul, the latter ought to pay the same compliment to the British who go to India for the purposes of monetary gain. The spirit engendered by this may bring the people of India in violent collision with the Britishers, but it cannot be denied that it is helping them to awaken to the consciousness that they should be men and not mere cringing slaves. It is also responsible for the wave of material prosperity which is spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land. Mention has already been made of the boycott of English goods instituted in many parts of India and still vigorously pursued, which, in a measure has been brought on by this refusal of the Englishman to listen to the fair demands of the Native East Indians. The writer does not have at hand figures to prove that the boycott has had a crippling effect on British trade with India; but it certainly has been instrumental in opening the eyes of East Indians and enlisting their eager interest in the reorganization of their industries



and trades. Reference has already been made to this spirit being at the bottom of the sending of East-Indian students to foreign countries for the purpose of learning scientific salesmanship and the most economical and improved methods of agriculture and manufacture. This sentiment has done even more. It has made the natives of India realize that so long as they continue to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, there is no hope for their future existence, much less prosperity—so long as they merely concern themselves with producing raw materials, shipping them to England and other European countries and then buying the finished product, the Indian manufacturers and craftsmen cannot but starve. What this spirit has done for the East Indian may be described in the words of Mr. R. C. Dutt, an East-Indian publicist of note:

"History will record in future ages how the people of India in the commencement of the twentieth century effected their own industrial salvation. Without any control over their own tariff or financial arrangements, without any effective voice over our own legislation or our administration—such as every other civilized nation on earth possesses to-day—without any of these privileges which are the birthright of nations, we have determined, simply by giving preference to our home manufactures, to revive the industrial activities of this vast country and to improve the condition of our industrial population. The call has gone forth from province to province and from village to village; and unnumbered millions are responding to the call with almost religious fervor. The womanhood of India has nobly joined in this patriotic work; and every true Indian, Hindu or Mussulman, Parsi, Jain or Christian, coöperates in the *Swadeshi* movement and exerts himself for the industrial progress of his Fatherland. We are yet far, very far, from success, but in our heart of hearts we have taken a solemn vow to work together towards

this great object. And when we have passed away, our sons and grandsons will take up this holy work and will accomplish what we have begun, giving our country her rightful, her ancient place among the industrial nations of the earth."

As a result of this "India-made" sentiment, throughout Hindostan all classes and sections of people are reviving old industries and adding new to the list. Improved hand-loom are being installed everywhere, and the sentiment for "India-made" goods is actuating the people to use coarser cloth and pay more for it, in preference to buying finer and cheaper products of alien looms. It may be mentioned that the main motive power for the *Swadeshi* movement has come from Hindu sources; but Mohammedans, forming the bulk of Indian weavers, are receiving the benefit from the propaganda.

It is not the weaving industry alone which is receiving a new impetus, but the same is equally true of other handicrafts and trades. As an instance it may be mentioned that the sugar industry in Hindostan has been quickened. New refining processes are being utilized and the deprecation of using imported sugar is leading to a wonderful regeneration of the industry. Cotton growing also has received a new lease of life. Successful experiments have been made with Egyptian cotton, and there is the bright prospect of India's being able to improve the quality of the cotton crop in the very near future by the proper selection of seed, and increase the quantity by intensive methods of cultivation.

Great innovations are taking place in the industrial realms of India. The dreamy Hindoo at last is coming to the realization that crafts should be pursued not only with the altruistic and artistic ends in view, but the commercial aspect should be strictly kept in mind.

The erstwhile spiritualistic East Indian is, in a sense, becoming materialistic. He is discovering that he should curb



some of his artistic temperament and give the primary place to material prosperity. He is finding that hereafter will take care of itself so long as he carefully looks after the *here* and *now*. It is likely that through this new consciousness in India the world may not hear much of India's grand religions, philosophies and arts; but it is also notable that Hindostan will no longer be regarded by the outside world as a land of eternal famine.

As a sign of the times, the Indians are learning the necessity of harnessing their rivers and waterfalls, of superseding hand industries with machinery. In the Bombay Presidency alone wonderful progress has been made in this direction. The following table shows the number of factories and their population in this province:

	FACTORIES.	POPULATION.
1902.....	400	180,224
1903.....	418	182,910
1904.....	432	188,106
1905.....	455	200,432
1906.....	495	212,637

During the last two decades the cotton mill industry has increased three-fold in India, as the following figures, including both spinning and weaving mills, show:

	1884	1894	1906
Mills.....	74	137	204
Spindles.....	1,895,000	3,540,000	5,293,000
Looms.....	16,000	29,000	52,000

Spinning mills number 104; weaving,

8; and those for both processes, 92. The yarns produced totaled over 655,500,000 pounds mostly of low counts. Woven goods totaled over 156,500,000 pounds, the bulk of which was gray goods. The amount of capital and debentures involved is nearly 20 crores of rupees, of which 16 crores, or \$53,335,000 is paid up. These factories, thanks to the *Swadeshi* spirit, are not dying of *ennui*. On the contrary they are not able to meet the demand for their products.

To show that India is not undertaking these enterprises on a baby scale, it may be mentioned that the well-known Indian firm of Tatta & Company is now engaged in establishing an iron foundry which will be the second largest in the world, the largest being in the United States.

The new spirit has also led the people to take care of their finances. Banks and insurance companies have been established all over the country and are being successfully operated under native management. The All-India United Insurance Company of Bombay, which was organized twelve months ago, recently announced a dividend of 3½ per cent. on the first year's work, starting from the day of registration. This is after putting Rs. 40,000 into the premium reserve fund. SAINT NIHAL SING.

Chicago, Illinois.

## HOW TO MAKE COMMERCIAL PANICS IMPOSSIBLE.

BY ALBERT GRIFFIN.

**D**URING several months of 1903-4 the country quivered on the brink of a commercial panic; since then, ominous tremors have repeatedly startled business circles; and, as I write (March, 1907) anxious eyes are fixed on financial clouds, and people are saying, "Yes: the storm may burst on us almost any

moment—and I am not ready." It is; therefore, a fitting time to consider the cause of these financial convulsions—and how to prevent them. But, before doing this, I wish to emphasize a few groups of facts and deductions that long study of this problem has shown to be as important as they are incontrovertible.

I. The oldest citizen remembers hearing his father tell of terrible monetary panics; but, nevertheless, they are modern phenomena. The first considerable one was the John Law hocus-pocus money panic of 1720; and the first one noted by historians of this country occurred during the second decade of the last century. To find their cause we must look for a factor that is always active *just before* and during *every* panic period—and that is not as potent at any other time.

II. Commercial panics were entirely unknown until the system of "banking on deposits" had become established; they occur only in countries a large part of whose business is done through banks of deposit; and their frequency and severity is everywhere in exact proportion to the share of its business that is transacted through them. Deposit banks are nowhere so numerous and powerful as they are throughout Great Britain and this country—and nowhere else are panics nearly so frequent and ruinous. Not a solitary exception can be found to these statements—and they certainly show a close relationship between commercial panics and banking on deposit.

III. Panics are always preceded by a period in which money is relatively abundant; the demand for services and products increasing; business of all kinds improving; wages, prices and values advancing—with decreasing suffering and increasing hopefulness among all classes. And they are always coincident with, and followed by, a relative scarcity of money; a decreasing demand for services and commodities; a falling market for everything; and widespread and long continued misery and ruin. And history furnishes no exception, anywhere to these statements.

IV. The *desire* to purchase *never* decreases, but *always* increases; and the market supply of services and products is always greater during and following panics than during the preceding periods. The only reason why products

and services are less marketable during these times is that so many are unable to dispose of their own. That is, they cannot effect exchanges because the "medium of exchange" (money) market is more or less paralyzed. And, as soon as this obstacle disappears, the wheels of industry revolve as freely as ever.

V. Invariably, the prosperity that precedes panics is itself preceded and accompanied (indeed, *caused*) by "an easy money market"—indicated by "increasing bank loans and discounts," the volume of which approximately measures the increased business activity. In like manner, every commercial panic ever known was *preceded* by a *relative contraction* of bank loans—which contraction continued through the following period of "liquidation."

VI. Many causes are given for commercial panics, but few of them are always active immediately before and during these periods—and some of them are even more active when there is no panic. Moreover, those usually cited that are always present, are only incidental, or are merely results—except "loss of confidence," and of this it is sufficient to say that, when not a merely local affair, it always *originates in the banks themselves*,—whose managers scenting danger, so contract their loans and discounts as to alarm some of their patrons whose business is done with borrowed capital.

The soundness of five of these groups of facts will be admitted by all well posted, candid men; the sixth is also incontrovertible; and, taken together, they establish a presumption that the true cause of commercial panics is decreased ability to exchange services and products—which is due to the inability or unwillingness of banks to provide business men with the money needed to effect exchanges. Under existing conditions, it is folly to close one's eyes to such patent facts. If the explanation suggested is not correct, why cannot those who easily effect exchanges one week do so the next? Why such

sudden and ruinous business paralysis all over the country when there is no other change in business conditions?

Every person is a seller—and also a buyer *whose ability to purchase depends upon his ability to sell*. The desire to buy *never* decreases; its gratification is limited only by the receipts from sales; and the only reason why those who easily sold and bought yesterday cannot do either to-day seems to be that there is a decrease in the "medium of exchange." The services and products are on the market; the desire to sell and to buy is as strong as ever; and the only apparent reason why it is not done as before is that the necessary medium of exchange is no longer procurable—and the only apparent reason why it is not is that banks have "put on the brakes."

In December, 1892, Dunn's Review of the financial situation said that the year had been one of remarkable prosperity, and that it "closed without a cloud on the financial horizon." During the next four months there were no great calamities of any kind, and, on April 26th, business was going on as usual, with no thought of trouble; but, a few days later, the terrible panic of 1893 turned the New York Exchange into a pandemonium, and covered the country with financial wrecks.

The sole cause of this desolating change in conditions was the sudden destruction of an immense quantity of the medium of exchange (bank loans) with which people were actually doing business—and the loss of which ruined them. It is true that the treasury reports showed an increase in the volume of money during that panic period—but the New York City bank reports indicated that, although the money in their vaults actually *increased*, their loans and discounts *decreased* fully \$500,000,000 in five months. This instance is cited because it is well known that this panic was caused by a contraction of bank loans, decided upon at a conference between the

Secretary of the Treasury and leading bank presidents, *for the purpose* of creating a business situation so distressing that it would (*as it did*) influence national legislation.

For a dozen years I have been publishing facts showing that our great business booms, desolating commercial panics, and long periods of business depression are all caused by the alternate expansion and contraction of "hocus pocus money,"—made by banks of deposit, out of nothing. But the bankers (who *dare not* discuss the charge, nor the facts that sustain it) have thus far succeeded in preventing their general consideration.

Fortunately, however, the seed sown has not been entirely lost, and this article is written in the hope that the readers of so fearless a magazine as *THE ARENA* will weigh well the facts which follow—and help to start an agitation that will not cease until the proper remedy shall have been applied.

For several hundred years the bankers have been the most closely allied guild in the world; their wealth and power increases faster than that of any other; and they really constitute "The Money Power"—of which so much is said and so little known. They dictate to all classes of business men and producers; and they largely control political parties, the public press, and the national, state and municipal governments.

That their method of doing business with *fictitious* capital, *used as money*, is the sole cause of commercial panics, is not a mere theory; nor is the statement based upon bald assumptions, but upon bank reports (mostly made under oath) tabulated by the United States Controller of the Treasury, and printed in his annual reports. Bank reports are not always correct, but correcting their intended mistakes would show still worse conditions for them. The following table, compiled from the Controller's reports, throws enough light on this subject to enable even the blind to see.

	Number of Banks.	Capital, Surplus, Undivided Profits and Na- tional Bank Notes.	Capital invested in Stocks, Bonds, Real Es- tate, Etc.	Capital remain- ing available for Commercial Loans.	Loans and Dis- counts Reported.	Ratio of Loans to Loanable Capital.
<b>1888.</b>						
National Banks.....	3,140	\$1,007,279,455	\$ 420,140,743	\$ 587,138,712	\$1,684,180,624	2.87 to 1
State Banks.....	1,403	211,816,956	80,623,901	131,193,055	410,511,868	3.13 to 1
Private Banks.....	1,203	55,720,060	28,447,270	27,272,790	95,474,774	3.50 to 1
Loan and Trust Companies	120	89,195,197	133,137,094	*-43,941,897	204,118,569	Unstable
Total.....	5,866	1,364,011,668	662,349,008	701,662,660	2,394,285,835	3.41 to 1
<b>1896.</b>						
National Banks.....	3,676	1,194,827,177	554,876,090	609,951,087	1,876,591,716	3.08 to 1
State Banks.....	3,708	335,908,307	190,743,388	145,164,919	659,895,450	4.54 to 1
Private Banks.....	824	30,109,711	25,587,431	4,522,280	47,699,852	10.55 to 1
Loan and Trust Companies	280	195,460,585	304,940,983	*-109,480,398	391,545,393	Unstable
Total.....	8,468	1,756,305,780	1,106,147,892	650,157,888	2,975,732,411	4.57 to 1
<b>1906.</b>						
National Banks.....	6,137	2,023,846,288	1,519,542,938	504,303,350	4,331,458,511	8.59 to 1
State Banks.....	8,862	672,960,513	672,187,272	773,241	2,122,200,307	2744.55 to 1
Private Banks.....	929	28,893,779	27,300,925	1,592,854	83,104,737	52.17 to 1
Loan and Trust Companies	742	663,757,957	1,013,029,211	*-349,271,255	1,443,883,431	Unstable
Total.....	16,670	3,389,458,537	3,232,060,347	157,398,190	7,980,646,986	50.77 to 1
Changes bet. 1888 and 1896	+ 2,602	+392,294,112	+443,798,884	-51,504,581	+581,446,576	+1.16 to 1
Changes bet. 1896 and 1906	+ 8,202	+1,633,152,757	+2,125,912,455	-492,759,698	+5,004,914,575	+46.20 to 1
Changes bet. 1888 and 1906	+10,808	+2,025,446,869	+2,569,711,339	-544,264,470	+5,586,361,151	+47.36 to 1

\*This is a minus quantity and must be deducted from the sum of the figures to find the total.

These figures show that, during the eight years preceding 1896, the number of banks increased 2,602; their capital increased (in round numbers) \$392,000,000; but the part of it invested in stocks, bonds, etc., increased \$443,000,000; so that the amount available for commercial loans actually decreased \$51,000,000; and yet their loans increased \$581,000,000. The ratio of their loans to loanable capital, which was \$3.41 of loans for every dollar of their loanable capital, in 1888, grew to \$4.57 to one in 1896.

In ten years from 1896 to 1906, the number of banks increased 8,202; their capital increased \$1,633,000,000, and their investments of capital \$2,125,000,000—so that their loanable capital decreased \$492,000,000 but in spite of this decrease, their loans increased more than \$5,000,000,000—and amounted to \$50.77 for every dollar of their loanable capital.

Of the many lines of facts shown by the table, the one I wish to emphasize is brought out in the fourth and fifth columns. Deducting the \$157,000,000 of their capital that the bank reports of last year do not show had been permanently

invested—and which was all they had to lend—from the \$7,980,000,000 of their loans and discounts reported, shows that they actually loaned \$7,823,000,000 of purely fictitious capital—the annual interest on which at only 5 per cent. would be \$391,000,000.

But the fact that this system enables bankers to collect from other business men such enormous sums for the use of fictitious capital is not its most important feature.—A worse one—a very much worse one—is that every one of these transactions varies the volume of the medium of exchange—expands it (but only for a few days or months) and then contracts it. In all cases, the entries on the bank's books are "deposits" of money—although all concerned know that no such sum has been deposited by anyone.

I am not charging intentional fraud upon bankers, for it is generally understood—but usually in a very vague way—that it is by some sleight-of-hand, or hocus-pocus method, that "bankers can make a little money go a long way in the settlement of accounts." But too much



emphasis cannot be put upon the fact that their loans and discounts in excess of their loanable capital *actually do the work of money*—and, therefore, must be recognized as money, if we wish to get at the truth about panics. It is undeniable that all of these transactions purport to be loans of money; they are paid for as money; the courts treat them as transactions in money; and increasing and decreasing them has exactly the same effect on prices, values and business that a similar increase or decrease in the volume of real money would have.

Now connect with preliminary facts II and III the following:

1. All bank loans and discounts in excess of their uninvested capital are—and necessarily must be—in effect, additions to the “medium of exchange” (money) in actual use. The fact that it cannot be seen and handled does not change the fact that, as it does the work of money and does nothing else, it is, *because of this*, money. It is well called *hocus-pocus* money—but it is money. It is a very poor and unsafe kind—but it is money all the same—and calling it by any other name will not change this fact.

2. Hocus-pocus money is created by entries on bank-books falsely stating that specific sums of “money” have been deposited to the credit of certain persons; and it ceases to exist when the notes or drafts are paid. In other words, it exists only during the life of the paper sold to the bank.

3. Most notes and drafts bought by banks run from one to ninety days. The average being but little over two months. Every one of these fictitious deposits positively expands the medium of exchange that much; every payment made by the borrower contracts it; and these expansions and contractions run up into billions every month. Indeed, they sometimes amount to hundreds of millions in a single day; and, unfortunately the changes, which seldom exactly balance each other, often differ greatly.

4. As more than 20,000 banks are

making and destroying this kind of money every day, at their pleasure, it is the most “elastic” currency ever known—and yet bankers insist that it is not sufficiently so. They demand permission to take still greater risks, and more freedom to use the money of other people to compel producers to pay them for the medium with which to exchange their own products. And it should be kept in mind that this method of doing business requires that the volume of real money shall be kept ruinously small.

5. When the volume of all kinds of real and hocus-pocus money in use increases faster than the products and services to be exchanged, prices, values and wages invariably tend upward. But when services and products increase faster than the volume of money of all kinds, prices and wages tend downwards. This is the quantitative theory, which goldites, silverites, fiatists—indeed, political economists of every school—admit to be self-evident. The confusion in the public mind on this subject results from failure to recognize the fact that everything actually used as a medium of exchange, and for no other purpose, must be counted as money. It is only by accepting “money” and “the medium of exchange” as equivalent terms that the quantitative theory can be sustained. Fluctuations in the volume of hocus-pocus money are unceasing—and at times they are very rapid and great. Every so-called boom ever known in this country was occasioned by an *expansion of hocus-pocus money*; and every commercial panic,—and nearly every considerable business depression—*was caused by its contraction*. Changes in the volume of real money are never sufficient to cause quick changes in conditions—except by causing changes in the volume of hocus-pocus money.

Every business man knows that panics and business depression are preceded by and coincident with a “tight money market”—inability to get paper discounted by banks that would readily have



accepted it a short time before. So long as "times are good," banks lend as much as they dare. In 1906, the national banks loaned \$8.94 for every dollar of real money they claimed to have; state banks, \$11.22; private banks, \$16.55; and loan and trust companies, \$31.95—the average being \$11.55.

The entire quantity of money which they reported was \$968,000,000. Of this, *only* \$157,000,000 belonged to them, and the remaining \$811,000,000 of real money, and their loans of hocus-pocus money (all due to depositors on demand) aggregated \$11,185,000,000. That is, they owed—*due on demand*—\$10,217,000,000 more than they claimed to have. The ratio of their cash liabilities to cash in hand, which, in 1888, was \$6.01 to one, increased gradually, and, in 1906, was \$11.55 to one—which shows a constant tendency to take increased risks. Political economists agree that "bank reserves" should always amount to at least 25 per cent. of their liabilities—and the most of them say 33 per cent. Yet we see that the reports of the deposit banks of this country show that they average less than 9 per cent.—even when it is generally believed that a panic in the near future is certain.

Now let us see how such a system works. With everything running smoothly, the banks lend freely, and the quantity of real money in their possession does not keep pace with their cash liabilities. And remember that, with deposits due on demand nearly twelve times as great as the money with which to pay them, reducing cash reserves \$10,000 removes the basis from more than \$100,000 of hocus-pocus money. Consequently, when such conditions exist, and it also becomes known that gold is being exported; that heavy capitalists are withdrawing money from certain banks for special purposes; or that some large concerns are in danger of bankruptcy; cautious bankers cease making new loans, or renewing old ones, to any but themselves and their more

favoured patrons. And when it becomes known that bankers, who are the best informed as to actual conditions, are feeling apprehensive, depositors naturally begin to decrease their deposits, and it would be surprising if fear did not sometimes become ungovernable panic.

The principal points made are (1) that the deposit banking system causes the volume of the medium of exchange with which business is actually done to increase rapidly during certain periods, and to decrease still faster during others. (2) That every panic is preceded by the kind of conditions that are invariably produced by an *increasing* volume of money; and is also immediately *preceded* and *accompanied* by those that are necessarily produced by a *decreasing* volume of money. (3) That these panics always have been, and still are, confined to countries a large part of whose business is done with hocus-pocus money.

There is much more that ought to be said on this subject, but space permits me to add only a few words as to what should be done about it. "The Real Money League," of Topeka, Kansas, holds that

"The best money is that the *exchange* value of which varies the least—and the constant effort should be to increase the quantity of the best until there is enough of it, and to decrease that of the poorer kinds until only the best remains,"

And further that

"Any kind of real money issued by the nation, with all the people behind it, *must* be better than unreal, hocus pocus money, with only some local bank behind it."

This is the keynote of monetary improvement—more real money, and less unreal. Of the many kinds of money in use, the better kinds should be increased until the aggregate volume makes it possible for *all of the people* to exchange *all* of their services and products—at *all* times. This is the expansion side—and it should continue *unceasingly*—because the need constantly increases. Con-

traction should be restricted to the poorest money in actual use. It should never precede but always follow or accompany expansion of the better kinds; should never equal it in amount; and should be continued until no poor money is left.

As, under the existing system, expanding even the best kind of money would be followed by an immense inflation of mis-called "bank credit," all banking institutions should be required to gradually increase their reserves to at least 25 per cent. of their checkable liabilities—and as much more as might from time to time, be thought advisable—every step in which direction would make the banking business (and every other) safer. Even the poorest money in use does a great deal of good; but hocus-pocus money also does a great deal of harm. It gives an immense and unjust advantage to a few already powerful people; it is the direct cause of nearly all serious *monetary* disturbances; and justice and the public interests require that it shall be made safer, and less powerful for evil.

An important fact is that increasing the amount of real money and decreasing the proportion of hocus-pocus money does not require revolutionary proceedings. It is admitted by all that there is not enough money of all kinds in existence. The bankers wish to make up the deficiency by increasing the quantity of hocus-pocus money—which they formerly called "money of account," but now refer to as "bank credit," "credit money," "liquid capital," "liquid currency," etc.,—but it seems clear that even fiat money with this great Nation behind it, would be safer, and better in every way, than mere hocus-pocus money, with only some local bank behind it.

It is an undeniable economic law that an unlimited market demand for *anything*, at a fixed price, prevents it from falling below that rate. The bullion value of gold changes but little—and only locally—solely because it can always be coined into money at approximately the same rate. The same was true of silver

so long as it was treated in the same way; and all intelligent, open-minded business men knew that if silver should be remonetized *and the banks required to sufficiently increase their reserves*, there would be fewer, and less serious, fluctuations in the money market—and more general "prosperity" for all classes.

The larger their reserves the *safer* must the banks be. The more real money there is in existence the less need is there for the unreal. With safer banking ensured, by increased deposits of real money, business conditions would inevitably improve, in all respects. *It could not be otherwise.* Every step in these directions would put the business world on firmer ground, and the forward movement could be hastened, decreased, or arrested whenever deemed advisable.

The only specific change that I am urging is that the aggregate volume of money shall be kept *constantly* increasing, *in proportion to the increasing needs of business*; and that the *proportion* of hocus-pocus money tolerated shall be steadily decreased, until it ceases to be a disturbing factor in business. Is this unreasonable?

Of those who believe in equal opportunities for all, I ask, Is not this subject well worth patient study? The important thing now is not *What* shall be done? but, Shall not *something* be done to increase the quantity of available money, and to compel the banks to be less reckless with other people's money?

But, when the *What* and the *How* is considered the fact should be ever kept in mind that the deposit banking guild is the only one that profits by the existing system. Nearly a century ago, after the British government had wrecked the fortunes of a large part of its people by the monetary contraction which placed that empire on a gold basis, the great historian, Macaulay, said: "Amid the general gloom, one class alone prospered—the bankers." And this has been true of every succeeding panic. This class will, of course, bitterly oppose any change

that will decrease its profits and power. And it will, therefore, be as unwise to go to it for advice as to how the evils of the present system can most quickly and certainly be ended, as it would be to consult with railroad magnates, meat packers, coal barons, and liquor dealers, when framing laws to end the evils for which they and their methods are responsible.

Fortunately, although the deposit banking system is the most colossal of the combinations from whose greed and defiance of law the country suffers, it is the easiest one of them all to either restrict or eliminate. Indeed, this could be done without cost to the people, or the loss of a dollar of its capital by any fairly well-managed bank.

Less than five thousand men control our 20,000 hocus-pocus money banks—and less than one-tenth of that number direct their general policy. In addition to their \$3,389,000,000 of capital invested in personal property and real estate, these institutions actually create out of nothing, and collect interest on, more than \$8,000,000,000 of purely fictitious capital, in the guise of "loans," for short periods, of hocus pocus money, which they can require shall be repaid in real money—nearly all of which in existence, not needed for small change, is already in their possession. Solely because the volume of *real* money has been purposely kept ruinously small, many hundreds of thousands of people have to go to these banks for this hocus-pocus money, without which they cannot now do business—and often they go with the soul sickening knowledge that failure to get it means financial disaster, and personal distress.

Candidly, reader, can you reflect on these facts without uneasiness? It may be said that these institutions are so strong that it is useless to oppose them. But everyone with any manhood left knows that a desperate struggle is certain to come—and, as the situation constantly grows more serious, I submit

that not another day should be lost. And, fortunately, a host of really great men are now looming up whose conduct proves that they have a genuine interest in humanity, and who, caring more for an honorable record than for money, cannot be bought. The need of the time seems to be an educational campaign along the lines of more *real* money—and a *safer* banking system. What say you—the man or woman who is reading this? And, What are you going to do about it?

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Uncontrollable circumstances having prevented the publication of this article at the time it was written, enables me to add that the events of the last few months confirm the correctness of the facts and the soundness of the principles set forth in it.

The United States [Controllers report for the last year also greatly strengthens the argument. The increase in the number of banks last year was 1,786; in capital, \$256,000,000; and investments in property, \$1,336,000,000—leaving \$921,000,000 *less than nothing* available for commercial loans. That is, taking them all together, their investment in property in their own names, took all of their capital, surplus, undivided profits and national bank notes, and \$921,000,000 of their *depositors'* money. And yet, with nearly a billion dollars *less than no capital* available they reported their loans at \$7,588,000,000. In other words, they collected interest, or profits, on \$8,510,000,000 of *absolutely fictitious capital used as money*.

Yet, *as has always been the case*, the bankers' remedy is more hocus-pocus money of some kind. But the "Real Money League" still insists that the only rational remedy is more *Real* money, and less *Unreal*. What say the readers of THE ARENA?

## LEIBNITZ, HEGEL AND MODERN THEOSOPHY.

BY EDWARD C. FARNSWORTH.

THE DISCIPLES of the Absolute Philosophy have held that through the secret of Hegel is attained that fulness of truth which will remedy the ills of life. Of his own attaining Hegel never doubted. Had he not found that "Thing-in-itself" which Kant had placed beyond the bounds of human understanding, beyond the utmost reach of human reason, in the realms of the unconditioned, the abode of beings mentally more endowed than man? Had he not demonstrated what to the cautious Kant were but articles of faith, to wit, God and the soul? Beginning with those abstractions, Nothing and mere empty Being, he, by a dialectic process of his own, had arrived at the perfected self-consciousness of the Absolute. On his journey he had gathered to his philosophizing the arts and sciences; at his conjuring had returned the old Aristotelian times enriched with the glories of the modern world. By his vast intellectual effort he had solved the problem of the thinker, the metaphysical riddle of the ages; because of this, Philosophy was now complete.

But later days brought doubt, distrust of Hegel's principle. Schopenhauer scorned that ultimate truth should be realized by a rationalizing method. After all, Bacon's estimate of Philosophy may be just, "Like a virgin consecrated to God she bears no fruit." Probably Aristotle has warrant for saying that philosophy itself produces nothing new. Many will agree with Fichte that Philosophy is but a means to the knowledge of life.

In human nature is an irrepressible craving which mere logic, however exhaustive and convincing, can never satisfy. Man is born from mystery into mystery, and unto mystery he returns. Through

life he repeats the dying words of Goethe, "More light!" Hegel, the man of method, was broad enough to acknowledge this universal need of definite knowledge, but it ill became the logician to usurp the province of the seer; it is much that he acknowledged the legitimacy of such mystics as Jacob Boehm; and yet the prosaic teacher of Jena and Heidelberg was inwardly the intuitional dreamer. The laborious thinker, creeping inch by inch to the very summit of human thought had, ere his ascent, beheld a vision that allied him with the sages of old India.

He had seen the beginning and the end of things, the primordial Being devoid of attributes, the one and the many, the many and the one indistinguishable, undifferentiated in their multitude. He had seen their self-externalization in the world of sense; the growing illusion of separateness necessary to the concretion of their individualities; and he had watched them, in their great cycle of necessity, rising from the earthly and returning whence they came bearing each the freight of its world experience, converging each to one center there to render into the common fund of wisdom the result of every separate attainment. Beholding all this he had comprehended the consummation, the self-conscious many unified as the self-conscious One.

Becoming, the process whereby Infinite Unity results in finite diversity, was from the pure monism of Spinoza, wholly unaccountable. Moreover a pantheism which makes of man but a momentary wave on the ocean of Being, satisfies in no way the I am I dominant and insistent in human consciousness. That it be neither dissipated nor annulled Thought requires a thinker, a something persisting when the wave of objective life has passed, and so because of the one-sided



pantheism of Spinoza arose the modology of Leibnitz.

In this system the monad is a positive center of consciousness whose power to repel proves the existence of something repelled, namely a plurality of monads. Each is a microcosm capable of reflecting the universe of monads; each is a focal point for all others. The monad is not in three-dimensional space, therefore size enters not into consideration of it.

The monads exist in an ever-ascending series from mineral to man. Monadic consciousness "sleeps in the mineral, dreams in the plant, wakes to consciousness in the animal, and to self-consciousness in man." The monad of man is the self-conscious dweller in his body itself the congeries of less-developed monads. Physical death is only the loss of the coarser and by no means indispensable monads of the outer body. The various organs and general structure are maintained though no longer perceived by physical sense. What is true of man's life and death applies in less and less degree in the descending scale of physical being. Inasmuch as matter is to Leibnitz but crassified spirit he cannot well be accused of materialism though he demands a vehicle for every grade of consciousness.

In the time of Hegel attention was already turning to the religio-philosophical writings of the remote-East. Possibly in lands other than that of Thales and Pythagoras, the eye of Reason had looked inward, and the introspection had been to some purpose.

Hegel's estimate of Hindoo thought as voiced in his *Philosophy of History*, would by any pundit be deemed absurd. The German philosopher's excuse lies in the then insufficient knowledge of the sacred texts which in many instances caution that a teacher is necessary. Schopenhauer arrived nearer the truth when, as he searched the Vedas and the Upanishads he half divined the secret science there hidden beneath an exoteric dress.

Modern Theosophy purports to be the sacred, esoteric wisdom of old Egypt and India. Like most ancient systems it includes Science, Religion and Philosophy. Unlike Socrates it centers not attention on man, for it claims that prior to the days of Socrates man was the object of its exhaustive study. Dealing not with the categories of Kant it yet claims as its olden possession all of value in his Critical Philosophy. Though ignoring the dialectic of Hegel, it asserts its ascent of the Himalyas of reason when as yet his ancestors roamed savage amidst the northern forests. It accords not with much in our modern empyrical science, yet professes to possess the key to riddles whose solution will reverse the attitude of the physicist. Its astounding claims to knowledge it would substantiate with a vast and elaborated cosmogony which dwarfs the dreams of Swedenborg.

The monadology of Leibnitz, and the scheme and outcome of Hegel, exhibit much in common with the teachings of Theosophy; nevertheless the Absolute of Hegel is not the Absolute of Theosophy or of the Vedante philosophy, that more exoteric explanation of man and the universe. The Absolute of Theosophy is the "Secondless Eternal" of Vedante; it is the concealed Logos author of the spoken word which itself is the manifested universe in its aspect as the undifferentiated monadic essence from which the totality of monads was gradually unfolded. In its primal condition this essence is mere Being, empty of meaning as any digit if considered apart from its relation to numbers; this essence, is, in fact, what to Hegel is equivalent to nothing. The Unmanifested Word is the Father, the Manifested Word is the Son in whom are the Divine Imminence and the Divine Transcendence until the great day "Be with Us," when the universe is merged in its ultimate source.

The Manifested Word, the Original Emanation, the Primal Substance, is the sole reality, the steadfast nomenion which

by projecting its phenomenal shadow, creates both time and space and the material conditions wherein Reality may unfold its latent possibilities. This original emanation hovers around the mineral world in well-nigh unconscious nebulousness; half awakened it projects the life and shapes of trees that wave in the wind, and all of the green and varied color that springs from earth into the shining of the sun. Seeing now the animal kingdom, its own shadow, it becomes identified with that evolution; and now its gradually disrupting oneness, wholly sundering into the many, surrounds each animal form. In man it realizes itself as soul, and eventually as ego. Passing beyond the human stage it knows itself as free ego permitted to return as world teacher and uplifter, or to pursue its way toward the highest Nirvana.

But what of Nirvana? Of what import this word of mystery? Theosophy teaches that whosoever deems Nirvana to be the Buddhistic vacuum has lost himself on the metaphysical heights. Nirvana is the fruition of individual unfolding; the coming into touch with the "thing-in-itself" of Kant the clear cognition of sole reality the eternal union with "the silent watcher," that original substance which enveloped the animal form ere man was man.

Since the beginning of the universal cycle evolution has been from mere potentiality to complete unfolding; this process necessitated the gradual individualizing of consciousness. What an absurd supposition that the result of ages of becoming is negated at the moment of consummation! Nirvana is the center in which converging individualities meet; the self-conscious realization that the many are One. Individual attainment is there merged in general attainment; seemingly each consciousness gathers into itself all others. This consummation is not unlike that of the Absolute Philosophy wherein the ego reaching the focus of thought, knows itself as all truth attained.

Kant argues that certain ideas or notions or judgments are *a priori* in man. Worldly experience furnishes the matter to which these judgments are the matrix. But that gatherer of knowledge, the mind, cognizes through a brain which only knows reality as conditioned by time and space, that to which even the pure intellect must submit.

The limitation of mere brain ability to perception of the phenomenal world has been sharply defined by all Indian thinkers, and in accord with these Theosophy teaches that only by rising superior to the physical senses into the "higher mind," only by sundering the ties of time and space does the sage attain unto the noumena. Evidently this results from more than that pure feeling, that inmost conviction, that intuitive cognition, for which Jacobi declares is his polemic against philosophy in general.

In direct opposition to Locke, and more in accord with Fichte, Theosophy teaches that all knowledge is innate in the ego. Other egos impinge upon it and the resulting friction excites the ego to active unfolding of universal wisdom inherited from its divine Source. In every monad the divine Imminence and Transcendence announces itself as the law of Cause and Effect, the law of "Karma," the law of Absolute Wisdom and Justice; therefore, every thought and act, whether good or bad, returns to the magnetic sphere of the monad from which it emanated. The perpetual adjustments of the Karmic law are to the monads of Theosophy what the pre-established harmony is to the monads of Leibnitz.

These latter, like those of Theosophy, are eternal and indestructable and, as has been said, some have only mineral consciousness, others plant consciousness, others again are at the human stage while the highest enjoy perfected self-consciousness. Although the higher monads dwell in physical bodies composed of lesser monads, all pursue an independent development, but, because

of the preëstablished harmony, nothing of confusion arises; therefore the organism suffers no harm from any monad.

Theosophy teaches that mutual helpfulness is the great lesson of life, and yet what every monad needs is not wisdom from without, but, in fact, stimulation that it may sooner unfold the amplitude of its own being. This result the chief monad of the physical body accomplishes through the unconscious exertion of a more-developed will, drawing to itself the various groups of monads which construct the organs unified by this chief monad.

Leibnitz fails to explain the definite process whereby the monad rises from perception to perception through the various kingdoms of nature, therefore the history of the human monad, prior to physical birth, remains to his readers a mystery. Theosophy would fill this wide gap in the system of the German savant.

Evidently an indestructable and unfolding consciousness can never be without its appropriate vehicle. To the monad of Leibnitz death was but the loss of the coarsest, least-developed monads of the physical body, but a central doctrine of Theosophy is that the monad must submit to a series of physical reëmbodiments. Unexpended effects of causes generated within its own magnetic sphere compel it back to the arena of this world. That lesson of lessons the overcoming of selfish desire, it learned not amidst the vast opportunities of hard, unsympathetic physical environment: all previous reëmbodiments, innumerable through ages, had been but preparation for this self-conscious task. Therefore Eternal Justice will cause the monadic consciousness again to center itself in the old lesson and the place of that lesson.

Despite his Absolute Idealism, Hegel has been deemed by many to be one of the bulwarks of Christianity. The clearest reasoner since Socrates and Aristotle, he preached the stronghold of the Kantian logic in his warring for the existence of God and the actuality of the ego. Hegel

remained within the fold of Luther nor deemed he stultified his mighty intellect by accepting as final the Gospel Revelation. And yet Christ was to him not the Divine of the old Scholasticism for the Reformation had delivered Reason and and her philosophizing from the thrall of rigid dogma. Christ was to Hegel's perception what the Speculative Philosophy had realized as the possible of every free ego, to wit, attained self-conscious union with God, for which end the Idea, even the Absolute Spirit, in the beginning externalized itself as a pure but characterless shadow. This conception of Christ so nearly accords with Theosophical teaching that it gives a clue to the avatars of the Hindoo god, and the birth of every Buddha the East has known.

The full divinity of man is necessarily the outcome of Hegel, but of Theosophy such inference is, in fact, unjust. The "Ancient Arcane Wisdom" teaches that man shall reach the utmost attainable in the system of which our sun is the center, but the all-pervading "Atman" is "That" which emanates and sustains every sun and system. It is "That" into which these shall finally be resolved.

Our sun has its term of objective life, according to Theosophy a term of enormous duration; then follows the night of subjectivity, and then a new day into whose first hour man emerges as regent of the evolving nebule and the future planets, but not as the Universal King. In that new dawning it will be his office of love, his brotherly duty to impress upon the plastic and pure monadic essence those laws which shall guide its otherwise blind course until the first faint unfolding of mind. From thence onward his divine labor shall in nowise cease, for he himself was impressed and guided and watched over on his journey from the star mist to the throne of the planetary spheres.

In the pantheistic system of Spinoza the problem of good and evil is disposed of in a manner unsatisfactory to most

thinkers. Although possessed of an infinity of attributes God, the Infinite substance, is revealed to man only as spirit or thought, and extension or matter. Hence man's inadequate grasp of ultimate truth; hence also his incommensurate view of good and evil, a view which a knowledge of the innumerable attributes of God would wholly reverse.

Leibnitz distinguishes three kinds of evil, Metaphysical evil, appointed of God, that imperfection which in finite things is the cause of their finitude; physical evil, ordered of God as punishment or corrective; moral evil, not ordered of God but unavoidably present if individual will is allowed any latitude and virtue is not compulsory. Wolf, the supplementer of Leibnitz, holds that evil exists not because God so wills; rather it originates in the inevitable imperfection of human nature; nevertheless in the providence of God evil becomes a means to good. Evil to Hegel is but a temporary wandering in the dark until the light of Reason reveals the path in the progress from mere Being to self-conscious Being that knows itself as the absolute truth of every condition, material and spiritual.

Theosophy teaches that all being is a trinity of Will, the life principle; Desire, the passional nature; and Mind, the equalizing and transforming power. In the universal unfolding the life principle as such is at once apparent; soon Desire tends to mere gratification, and eventually rages toward that end; Mind, now appearing as a feeble ray, is at once colored and deflected by selfish Desire. And now the battle of the ages is on, and the wide world is the arena. Unfolding Mind is destined to win, but not by annihilating its adversary, for Desire is immortal as itself. Mind shall triumph by transforming self-seeking Desire into selfless Love, and to finite life it shall reveal that truly it is Life Eternal veiled by the physical from its only Source.

In his philosophy of Art Hegel deals with the Idea or Absolute Spirit risen

from outward restraints into a freedom the result of observance in both morals and the state. The Idea is now apprehended by human reason as the objectively beautiful. Necessarily the beautiful can be cognized only through those limiting medium of art, the stone and wood of the builder, the marble of the sculptor, the colors of the painter, the gamut of the musician, and the measured verse of the poet.

Back of art stands the artist, and through the various mediums he renders objective the universal Idea as developed in him. In architecture the medium is dense, rigid and fixed, the spirit shines as through a clouded glass. Sculpture suggests movement, and movement is life and vehicle of life. In painting the material element has largely disappeared; but while the dimensional is present the solid is only indicated. Music, most subjective of arts, vibrating surface-ward from the inmost of life, finds its medium ere it reaches the eye; that medium is the unseen but heard sympathetic vibration of a sonorous body. Poetry is a synthesis of all arts; to sound it marries speech the expression of a specific idea. In the epic and the drama it delineates the life of nations; with vivid touch and true it paints the doing of famous deeds; with inspired chisel it fixes the doer in imperishable statuesque.

Theosophy makes no claim to be a system of aesthetics; it asserts not with Schilling that "Art is the sole, true and eternal organum as well as the ostensible evidence of philosophy"; neither does it hold with Schopenhauer that the real course to philosophy is through art. It has, however, somewhat to say concerning the origin, nature and possibility of color and sound on which the art of painting, and also that of music is based.

That primordial Substance which in its lowest and most crassified manifestation formed the material sun and planets, is far more subtle and tenuous than the luminiferous ether of physics. The



inconceivably rapid vibrations of that Substance are the internal impulse causing those atmospheric vibrations which to the optic and the auditory nerve are physical light and sound. The original vibration is in fact ultimate light and sound. These in their universal manifestation become fire and motion, the Kosmos builders shaping the pliant world material into geometrical designs.

Architecture and sculpture deal largely with the geometry of art, therefore with those models on which Kosmos was constructed. Painting and music deal directly with that color and that sound which are the physical of original light and sound; but to the light within the light, and to the sound within the sound neither the artist nor the musician can attain. The sacred chants of the Sama Veda, and the intoned mantras are supposedly the potency of sound guided by the definite uttered thought expressed in measured verse which suggests the motion of the Great Breath of Brahm projecting the universe into finitude, only to draw it back to subjectivity; an alternation unceasing forever and ever.

We have said, and to some extent have shown, that modern Theosophy makes astounding claims to knowledge. Possibly a further glance at its teachings will not prove uninteresting.

Light and Sound as vibrations of the great Life Breath are in fact, one, though eye and ear have separated them. The seven prismatic colors composing the one solar fire, are each and all creative breaths united in a center of energy. Because of this sevenfold outbreathing the solar system, and man, the synthesis of nature, are sevenfold. Of the seven principles of man, and nature, the one known as Atma is on the plane of immutable consciousness; all others are derivatives finally to be resolved into its perfected life which in the beginning infolded perfection as the acorn infolds the yet unrealized oak. And as the acorn, itself a sevenfold life, requires for growth Earth's material conditions, so man

amidst the terrestrial shall himself unfold. Man is, therefore, enduring only in Atma, which in the lapse of ages he has gradually individualized to himself from the universal ocean of life.

Because the Atma of man is in its nature identical with the Great Breath; its individual life is commensurate with that of the manifested universe. Each principle wherein it shadows itself is vitalized by Atma; that is to say, the will to live in any of its principles coördinates the monads or minute lives comprising that principle. But this will encounters increasing obstacles because each principle in descending series is a more unyielding form of matter, therefore in man's lowest principle the will in its going forth is fully exhausted in about seventy years. Weakened it turns in its cycle, the body grows old and soon physical death ensues. Then the lower lives, deprived of their one harmonizing will, work confusion and disintegration to their host.

Within the cycle of terrestrial life are smaller cycles corresponding to the axle rotation of the earth. As that giver of physical life, the sun, approaches the east the will to live of the body is energized but only to experience at night a corresponding depression. This daily sinking of the will is sleep; in other words a temporary inability to maintain relation with the external world; therefore the indestructible will retires into some higher principle, which, during dreamless sleep, is the Higher Ego, fifth in the ascending series of seven. Now is the Ego, free and awake and active, but not wholly so, for the link between it and the physical body is only sundered at the termination of the great will cycle of that body. Death is, therefore, but the completion of a process begun every night of our lives. Evidently the principle immediately higher than the physical body has a longer life cycle, but this cycle must terminate on the plane of its principle.

At the present stage of man's unfolding his individualized Atma centers its atten-

tion on the more spiritualized mind, the Higher Ego. In post-mortem life the normal man fully attains to the plane of the Higher Ego. Here he finds his heaven of rest, here the Ego assimilates all of good in the previous earth life.

Atma, the chief principle of man, is a thing of incessant activity for the urge of the Absolute Will is upon it. In every deep, as in every height, it must contact whatsoever stimulates its unfolding to universal knowledge and wisdom. The microscopic world proves the infinite patience and thoroughness with which it has unfolded its knowledge of all kingdoms culminating in man. Before this earth as such had being, Atma had assimilated the experience of super-sensible conditions which in their downward evolution objectivized as physical matter.

Atma has not attained to full self-consciousness on the plane of the higher mind because that attainment demands more of human experience than it has as yet assimilated. The Higher Ego, the present vehicle of Atma, must purge itself of every impurity; encompassed by selfishness it must wholly conquer and rise to all helpfulness. Seventy or eighty years of mortal life have failed to consummate the imperative task; therefore Atma, through its active intermediate again projects its consciousness downward, reconstructing on each plane of matter the appropriate human principle or body, and at last the physical, the rind which covers all.

Every variety of material body in the humblest species is the almost direct creation of the universal, undifferentiated Atma, and necessarily so, for all but the lowest of its intervening principles are as yet incipient. Benign intelligences vastly superior to man, have in earlier ages guided the unfolding of these lowly entities. Now man himself, because of his highly-developed will, is throned over the inferior life of this planet. Whether for good or ill he is coloring the feeble ray of mind just visible in the higher animal kingdom; and on him

will rest the penalty of unbrotherliness to these creatures destined in future ages to arrive at the human stage.

This conception of man's authority over Nature is more vitally and sympathetically human than that of Schelling in whose Objective Idealism Nature is the negative pole of the human mind perceived by the senses as something external to that mind. Evidently the laws of Nature are for Schelling those which man imposes upon it. For Hegel, as for Schopenhauer, Nature is a realm wherein Reason wanders from the goal to which man himself must turn her feet.

Reason is by Hegel identified with Infinite Substance, Infinite Form, Infinite Power. These beneath all objective life manifest as the "World Spirit" striving toward free expression results in Universal History. The unreason of Nature, on which Hegel and Schopenhauer discant, and because of which Socrates lamented, obtains, according to Theosophy, in appearance chiefly; but a larger, longer survey than that of recorded history is necessary to the full confirmation of this view.

The downfall of nations, the extinction of civilization, are to Theosophy no backward steps of attaining Reason. Such seeming calamity is but the breaking of old vessels no longer adequate to the unfolding Spirit. Forever the antique refashions itself as the new. Egypt, Greece and Rome no doubt return but not in pyramid and Sphinx, not in Pantheon and Acropolis, not in palace and Forum; not in manners and customs; no, not in any externalities. Not even unto their own land do the dead peoples return, but rather they come re embodying afar those inner racial characteristics once the mainspring of their respective world activities.

Much indeed of vice, but surely more of virtue, is re clothed in flesh and lives the vacillating human life of Reason and unreason; but looking down to the abyss of animalism from whence arose our race; looking at its upward trend through

empires founded on blood and slaughter and maintained by crime; looking at the master and the slave of tyrannizing Rome, and the baron and the surf of once bedarkened Europe long abased in feudal chains, looking at every ignorance and malice and abuse behind him, who will not rejoice in our own as yet unperfected day, and turn with serene faith to a liberated future?

We have seen that in the system of Leibnitz a preëstablished harmony obtained with every grade of monads all of whom are evolving to a common center. From this it is evident that having once for all established the harmony, God enjoys perpetual Sabbath. The God of Leibnitz is, in fact, very like the God of Fichte's earlier idealism, a mere moral order in the universe.

In the Bhagavad Gita the Supreme Spirit says, "There is nothing in the universe that it is necessary for me to perform, nor anything possible to obtain that I have not obtained; yet I am constantly in action. If I were not indefatigable in action all men would presently follow my example." The God of Theosophy is this Supreme Spirit and the incessant adjustment of finite action by infinite reaction proceeds from the activity of Absolute Will.

As for the monads of Theosophy, the cause of their unfolding is expressed by the words Universal Brotherhood. Every monad is a center of will, but as no two wills have equally developed, all are each to other as positive and negative. But will develops evil-ward or good-ward therefore every monad is a menace or an aid to its weaker neighbor. Such being the case nothing short of the Divine Reaction, whereby evil returns to the evil-doer, can maintain the stability of the world.

All progress depends on mutual help; a universal lifting up of that which is lower. If men would know their responsibilities let them read in Genesis, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have

dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth."

Of all logicians Hegel has no doubt arrived at the clearest and closest explanation of the great problems which have puzzled the metaphysicians, and he gives his verdict that Philosophy as such does not reform the world. It is believed by Theosophists generally that a clear demonstration of the mutual dependence of universally unfolding life must appeal to men if only to their inherent instinct of self-preservation. Those who profess to hold in custody the Ancient Arcane Wisdom declare that a suicidal selfishness, similar to that which destroyed vast and forgotten civilizations, is now developing in our midst. Moreover, these teachers assert that modern investigation is nearing the discovery of certain laws whose misuse by the men of old was baneful both to themselves and all associated with them.

That which Philosophy avows as its mission is not the elucidation of psychic phenomena, nor the explanation of prenatal and post-mortem states; nor is it the announcing of the seven-foldness of man and nature; neither is it a revelation of conditions of planetary life within the solar system. Theosophy has for object not the mere history of submerged continents and their peoples self-destroyed through the practice of infernal arts. Though all this and more are professedly its province, Theosophy undertakes, as its prime object, to prove that brotherhood in its widest sense is a necessary factor in the progress of the world.

In these few pages the writer would make obvious certain similarities in Eastern and Western thought. Anything like justice to the scope of Leibnitz, Hegel and modern Theosophy would result in a sizable volume. It must not be supposed that this brief article is exhaustive of similarities; others

can be shown, for example; Hegel says of gravitation, it is the desire of that which is the real of matter to individualize itself. Already it would find in a common center that intelligent oneness for which the Spirit first went forth. Theosophy sees in gravitation the principle of Desire urging every atom of the sentient universe to mutual contact in an instinctive attempt to overcome the illusion of separateness.

This desire for oneness, manifest in the wheeling of suns and planets, is, to Hegel, as also to Theosophy, the ultimate cause of those mysterious affinities which the chemist has noted but not explained. Belief in original and final unity inspired the alchemists in their exoteric search for what to Theosophy is the gold of transmuted desire, even Divine Love.

In certain quarters men of distinguished attainment have overleaped the walls wherewith modern physical science has encompassed itself. These investigators have turned to those tabooed subjects, telepathy and spiritism, of which Theosophy essays a detailed explanation. Such investigation is a hopeful sign. Evidently the wave of materialism is expending itself even among the inheritors of the questionable legacy of John Locke. Less and less contempt is now expressed for "German Transcendentalism" and

the so-called wild and extravagant assumptions of Indian thinkers. Though the gradual substantiation of the Darwinian theory is working adversely toward the doctrines of Swedenborg, Theosophists claim that when to wireless telegraphy, and the unique behavior of radium, and our latest knowledge of the atom—said by Theosophy to be like man, a miniature of the solar system—Science has added a few other important discoveries, men will look with amazement at the half-revelation of these in that semi-esoteric work, *The Secret Doctrine*, of H. P. Blavatsky.

Although such thinkers as Hamilton and Mill have deemed the knowledge of God no province of philosophy, and though Kant himself considered his Being a matter of faith, and though Spencer relegates Deity to the regions of the unknowable, Leibnitz made the Universal Monad the indispensable primary of his system, and Hegel deemed that he himself had reasoned even to the Absolute One. And so Theosophy, which, like Hegelianism, declares for the perfectibility and unification of mankind, stands also for "That," the Divine Parent, the All in All when suns and systems and time itself shall be no more.

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## A FAIR EDUCATION FOR ALL.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.

MR. THUM'S proposal for public works high schools, in connection with which boys could support themselves while getting a good education, both industrial and general, is a very interesting proposition.

It is perfectly clear that something should be done to ensure the better edu-

cation of our young people. Every boy and girl is entitled to at least an education of high-school grade on two lines: (1) academic, and, (2) industrial.

How far we are at present from this desirable minimum is apparent from such facts as the following, secured by the writer within the last two months:



BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, JANUARY, 1908.	
GRADE.	NUMBER OF PUPILS.
First year primaries.....	13,622
First year grammar.....	10,007
Last year grammar.....	4,809
Last year high schools.....	850

Less than one-sixteenth of the children go through a high school course, either industrial or academic. The great mass of children leave school before they finish the grammar grades. The situation is similar in other cities. Here, for example, are the facts for Philadelphia and Washington. The high-school figures, as before, include the pupils in manual training and commercial schools of high-school grade, as well as those pursuing academic courses.

GRADE.	NUMBER OF PUPILS (OCTOBER, 1907).	
	PHILADELPHIA.	WASHINGTON.
First year primaries.....	33,588	9,198
First year grammar (5th grade).....	19,386	5,601
Last year grammar (8th grade).....	5,710	3,136
Last year high school....	1,089	663

In Philadelphia less than one-thirtieth of the children go through a high-school course, and in Washington less than one-thirteenth. Only about one-sixth finish the grammar grades in Philadelphia, and about one-third, in Washington and Boston. There are nowhere near seats enough in the grammar schools for the children who are in the primaries; and the seating capacity of the high schools would accommodate only a small fraction, about one-sixth, one-tenth or one-twentieth of the pupils in the primaries.

In other words, our cities do not intend to give the bulk of the children a high-school education, and make very incomplete provisions even for grammar-school training. The reason that two-thirds to five-sixths of the pupils leave school before finishing the grammar grades, and that twelve-thirtieths to twenty-nine thirtieths never go through a high school—the principal reason for this, is that the parents take their children from school in order to put them to work. The majority of boys and girls must earn their living as soon as the law allows them to leave school.

The public-works high school meets

this difficulty by providing the means whereby our boys may earn a livelihood by working half-time and attend school the other half day. The young folks get, moreover, from their working hours not only a support but a valuable industrial training. The plan really kills three birds with one stone.

It is to be regretted that the author did not confine himself more closely to the subject in hand. His elaborated speculative theories and dreams tend to diminish the interest in the subject and make the paper far too long. The mixture of irrelevant matter, however, must not blind us to the really practical and valuable suggestion contained in the main proposition.

I do not think Mr. Thum is right in suggesting that the pupils should pay for their tuition in public high schools. They are entitled to the best tuition free of charge. Society owes that to itself and to every child it allows to come into the world. And progressive taxation of land values, incomes and inheritances will easily pay the bills.

I wish to suggest also that municipal ownership of street railways, gas works, shoe factories, etc., is not at all essential to the plan. A city should provide full education for its youth, regardless of its policy in respect to public ownership, since the city, under proper legislation, could arrange with the owners and managers of private industries to employ the working high-school pupils on half-time, one group in the morning and another in the afternoon, under conditions calculated to secure the desired industrial training.

The Women's Educational Union of Boston has already been operating a similar arrangement for some time in connection with its salesmanship classes, the girls working half-time in the stores while taking the course in school. Enlightened employers are very willing to coöperate in well-considered efforts to increase the efficiency and the general economic and social value of employées.

Many of our agricultural colleges and other institutions of learning, especially the state universities of the West, afford the means of employment whereby young men and women may support themselves while getting an education. All that is necessary is the extension and improvement of methods already in use, so that the way to the high school and college may be open on such reasonable and attractive terms that the great mass of boys and girls will finish at least the high-school grades, instead of drop-

ping out before the end of the grammar course, as they do now.

The industrial, civic and social benefits of such a development of our educational resources are beyond estimate. It will multiply enlightenment; and the benefits of true education rise in geometric ratio. In the ideal city *education will become the leading industry*, instead of being a half-hearted side-issue, attaining but a small fraction of its due efficiency, as is the case to-day.

FRANK PARSONS.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## THE RACE-TRACK EVIL AND THE NEWSPAPERS.

BY HON. JOHN D. WORKS.

THE PROPENSITY to gamble is one of the most subtle of evils and amongst the most degrading. It is not confined to any class of people but may be found assailing the honesty, integrity and purity of men and women of all classes. It makes of the public official a betrayer of his oath and the trust imposed in him as such, the trusted employé an embezzler, the private individual a thief and deceiver, the husband to forget his marriage vows and his duty to his children, and the wife to forsake husband, home and family for the gaming table and the race track. The feverish unrest it produces unfits men for business, saps their moral stamina and renders them unworthy, unreliable and dishonest.

The life of a gambler is one of constant deception. The desire to get something for nothing is itself opposed to right and justice and renders the victim of the gambling habit wholly unmindful of the rights of others. This propensity to prey unjustly upon others finds its way into what might otherwise be legitimate business, in stock transactions, the trusts in their various forms, and in speculation of all kinds as contradistinguished

from legitimate business for legitimate profits. In many cases the habit of gambling is as intense as the drink habit or the abnormal taste for drugs, that overcomes the will of its victim, making him its veritable slave until its mesmeric influence over him is overcome and destroyed. This very condition of bondage costs him his own self-respect. To others he may appear to be a respectable and respected citizen, but to himself he is debased, degraded and unworthy of respect or confidence.

It is not intended here, however, to deal with the psychological problems involved in this widespread and far-reaching evil, nor to consider it in its various forms, but to notice, briefly, the one phase of the habit engendered and sustained by the race track and its accessories, as conducted in these modern times, and the relation of the newspapers to this type of the deadly evil and the measure of their responsibility for its continuance and spread. The one great difference between race-track gambling and other species of gambling, the game of poker, for example, is its publicity. The racing of horses cannot be regarded

as in itself an evil. But in the present day the horse, the noblest of animals, is made the means of establishing and perpetuating a species of gambling of the most attractive kind and resulting in the most lamentable results. The glamour and excitement of the contest for victory in the race; the persuasive influence of the agents and emissaries of the bookmakers, the tone of respectability given to it by the attendance and participation in the betting of those who otherwise stand for respectability in the community, especially the showy rich, all tend to draw the unwary into the betting and fasten upon him the desire to gamble that makes him henceforth the habitu   of the race track, and, eventually, makes of him a thief or embezzler and renders the ordinary means of gaining a livelihood altogether too slow and common place for him.

In every community where a race track has been established its evil influences are soon made apparent. The evidences of its effects are found in the inefficiency and dishonesty of employ  s, neglect of business by business men, and of official in public life, and is recorded, all too frequently, in the records of the criminal courts and evidenced by erstwhile honest public officials and trusted employ  s in the garb of the convicted felon. Spasmodic outbreaks of indignation occur at intervals in the way of public meetings and appeals to the public authorities to suppress the evil. The newspapers join in the cry against race-track gambling, in local comment, and sometimes ideologically, and yet the newspapers are largely responsible for the success of the race track and its gambling adjuncts. They themselves have been directly responsible for the downfall of many through the temptation to bet on the races and have contributed largely to swell the roll of convicts in the penitentiaries of the country. What the race-track evil needs most to keep it alive and flourishing is publicity. It needs to be, it must be, advertised to be successful, and the same greed for gain that induces

the attendant at the race track to bet on the horses induces the newspaper to advertise for money the performances at the track, giving both the coming events and the results of those which have already taken place, giving tips as to the favorites in coming races by which the unwary are misled, deceived and robbed of their money. In the very number of the newspaper in which appears the editorial denunciation of the race track as an evil and menace to the community and a demand for its suppression by the authorities, may be found not only the paid advertisements of the race-track managers but columns of gratuitous advertising inserted to make the paper popular with the sporting portion of the community and increase its list of subscribers. This so-called sporting news is made as attractive as the printer's ingenuity can make it, with flaming catch headlines and often published as a "sporting edition," on colored paper used to attract the attention of those who may be tempted to patronize the races. Often the newspaper that resorts to this unworthy means of satisfying its greed for money, little less reprehensible than the bookmaker who fleeces the unwary, or the professional race-track gambler who profits by his own rascality and the ignorance of his victims, is recognized as a "moral" newspaper "devoted to the best interests" of the community in which it is published. It so announces itself and its pretensions are accepted. Many times the announcements of religious services and comments on religious, beneficent and worthy enterprises for the elevation and betterment of humanity, may be found in close proximity to the race-track news, but with much less ostentation or effort to attract attention.

Grasping avarice and consuming greed sap the honesty, morals and integrity of the newspaper and make it the sponsor and aider and abettor of the race-track evil just as these evil propensities take men and women to the race track and make gamblers and felons of them, and

they should be held strictly responsible for the large part they are taking in the spread of the evil. If the newspapers only had the moral courage to exclude from their columns any and all mention of race tracks or their performances, in the form of paid advertisement or otherwise, the crushing out of the evil would not be difficult. That alone would probably retire many if not all of them. This is too much to hope for in this day of the mania for money-getting. But if newspapers have not the moral courage to take this step their morals should be stimulated by a law making it a penal offense to publish any such matter either in a newspaper or in any other form, and the rigid and uncompromising enforcement of the law. But have the makers of our laws the moral courage to enact such laws and the public officials to enforce them? The influences that have established the race track with its gambling accompaniment are most powerful and persistent. They meet, and often overcome, any effort made to induce state legislatures to enact laws against the evil. Therefore any attempt, at the present time, to accomplish such legislation as above suggested would doubtless meet not only this influence but the influence of many of the newspapers that are participating in no small degree in the profits resulting from the continuance of the evil. But the law abiding, self-respecting citizens of this country should set their face against this great evil and act, and act decisively, in every legitimate

way that will tend to check its spread and eventually destroy it. Doubtless it is a matter of education in large part, but the first to be taught should be the newspapers, themselves claiming to be the great educators of the public. They have great influence in moulding public opinion and their efforts should be enlisted, if possible, against race-track gambling, but to be consistent they must exclude all advertisements or notices of the race track from their columns. It is one of the singular phases of our present every-day life that the managers and publishers of otherwise respectable newspapers should open their columns to such matter so fraught with positive injury to the community, and still more remarkable that respectable citizens and Christian people, including ministers of the gospel, should subscribe for and read their papers without a word of protest against this prostitution of the papers to the level of an open and avowed supporter of vice in one of its worst and most deadly forms.

Have we become so lacking in moral fiber, as a people, that such things give no offense? If so the better element in the nature of the American people should be aroused and made to exert itself against this great evil that is ruining so many of our young men and making criminals of them, and which, all too frequently, brings under the spell of its influence the women of the country as well.

JOHN D. WORKS.

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## PROMETHEUS BOUND AND UNBOUND: A STUDY IN ADVANCING CIVILIZATION.

BY REV. F. H. GILE, A.M

### I.

THE NOBLE tragedy of "Prometheus Bound" had its roots in a deep sense of unrighted and, for the present, unrightable wrongs in human society; and the true Man, in his divine rights, was clearly conceived to be enslaved thereby. Existing institutions founded by his own free spirit had turned to his own harm: he had called into being genii whom he could not control. Social conventions, laws and usages had come under the hated sway of Superstition, Jove, who had succeeded in impressing into his service Strength, Force and Vulcan (Art or Skill) and thus become an intolerable tyrant. So poor Man, the godlike, independent, aspiring Man, was chained, bound and helpless, in a black, dreary desert, tortured by smothered hopes, unfulfilled aspirations and the sight, from his lonely peak, of his world given over to wrong and outrage for innumerable ages. He had labored to advance his people in light and wisdom, but their ignorance, cowardice and servile submission to Superstition had defeated his hopes and bound him hand and foot to helpless suffering. All this was the fruit of his aspiring labors,—a bitter fruit, but such as all in advance of their age must pluck.

Strength and Force, the servile will of the majority of men, were Jove's willing agents. Vulcan (Art) was an unwilling agent in binding Man: he declares that his kinship and sympathy with him makes his task of riveting his fetters hard and reluctant. So, many an able man whose sympathies are with the ill-used reformer, yet dare not stand out against the powers that be.

Nature, Earth, Sky and Sea, agents

of God in normal condition, sympathize with Prometheus; but their sympathy only serves to increase the anger and oppression of Jove; as Ignorance, Bigotry, Oppression become always more intolerant and suppressive, in proportion to their apparent injustice, under the searchlight of Science or Reason. So Earth, Sky, Sea and Nature find that their greatest kindness to Prometheus is to keep away from or to visit him only stealthily to weep with him. He, on the other hand, is so comforted by their sympathy, which assures him that he is right and his course just, that he is more than willing to endure such additional torture as Jove may heap upon him on their account. He is a martyr to the great hope of the world: he knows that at the great Court of Eternal Justice he will be justified and his cause be made to prevail. Therefore he is prepared to bear each jot of suffering that Jove may impose, knowing that when the Day of Vindication shall come, all he has been made to bear shall be additional punishment for Jove.

Two ways of regaining his liberation are open to him: (1) To yield to Jove's sovereignty and do like other people about him, make a virtue of necessity and join the unthinking herd in their blind servility. Nature, in her self-sacrificing pity, urges him to do so. All his friends strive to change his resolution. All time-serving, all worldly-wise men, make the Reformer out a fool to attempt the impossible, to kick against the pricks. Adaptation to environment and circumstances is the sole effort of little souls. But Prometheus will listen to none of it since he knows he has done right in enlightening mortals and causing hopes, though blind, to dwell in them: he

knows that sometime, whatever happens to him, good will come of it to them; and he is content to dare and suffer for their sakes.

(2) The other way of liberation lay in the dim future, a time when men in an improved environment, and actuated by nobler human qualities should win their own freedom from Superstition's thrall and set him free from the Bastile of unjust oppression. That will be true liberty, race-liberty. To yield to Jove would be the ruin of human hopes; to conquer Jove even by ages of waiting, anxious suffering would be the fulfillment of human hopes. And so great is Prometheus' nobility of mind and love of men that he is determined at all cost, to wait and suffer; for well he knows that his sufferings, a perpetual spectacle of sacrificing love, will hasten the glad day of human freedom.

So having made his divine choice, Prometheus resigns himself to his fate, knowing that the "Might of Necessity cannot be resisted." Fretful, anguish-stricken yet inflexible, unmoved, by the prayers of Nature in her sublime pity, undaunted by the threats of Jove, he remains steadfast to his purpose. True, he cannot sometimes refrain from breaking out into pain-forced lamentation over his unmerited sufferings; and appeals to the nobler Powers of the universe to vindicate his innocence and righteousness and assist him to bear his solitary fate. "I know," he might have cried, "that my Vindicator liveth and that he shall stand at the latter day upon this earth."

Then come the Spirits of the moonlit sea and old Ocean herself, and urge and beseech him not to consider others to the torture of himself, but to yield to Jove. The Chorus, representing humanity in general, and Io, type of suffering humanity in particular, come to bring him tears and consolation and entreaty. But to all he turns a deaf ear, save to their consolations, and still adheres to his holy purpose. The spectacle of the beloved Prometheus suffering for them inspires

the Chorus to try to win somehow his liberation—the effects of his sacrificing love are beginning to appear. The sympathy of humanity is awakening, though oscillating and uncertain.

And now Jove, having heard that Prometheus has prophesied the downfall of his sovereignty, offers him his freedom if he will reveal the time and manner of his fall. But Jove cannot be trusted: to put the secret into his power would delay the end. So Prometheus remains silent, awaiting in patient suffering for the coming Day.

When? How? It was not in the prophet's power to say nor yet in ours. So in undimmed hope and unswerving purpose, Æschylus makes his god-man, his Christ, sweep from view in an awful catastrophe in which all Nature participated in dark confusion. So the veil of darkness was cast over the ever continuing struggle between Superstition and Freedom.

It is supposed that Æschylus wrote a sequel to "Prometheus Bound," to show how he should gain his liberation. But for his day and generation such a task could not have been successfully performed. If he ever conceived such a purpose he must have shrunk from it as an impossible attempt. It was highly appropriate for even the genius of an Æschylus to leave as he did, so far as his extant writings show, the sequel so dimly hoped for, a dark mystery for long-coming ages to resolve. With his aristocratic sympathies and affiliations he could not have given adequate solution to the problem he raised. The achievements of Æschylus, though lofty and of sublime simplicity, were limited to the expression of Desire and Hope of Man's final freedom. Other ages were to learn slowly to conceive the How, and others not yet come, the When of the fulfilment of this Desire of Hope.

I think that "Prometheus Bound" was inspired, as all great writings are, by the writer's own experiences. Æschylus lived in the great struggle between

Grecian freedom and Persian despotism; he also was an aristocrat chafing under the tyranny of the Athenian democracy; and, more than this, he was inclined to free-thinking, was even declared by Plato years afterward, a heretic. For the latter two circumstances he is supposed to have banished himself at least temporarily, and when at home must have lived a restrained, uncomfortable life. Out of the conditions surrounding him must have sprung a deep discontent and a mighty desire for freedom, intellectual and moral, and this impulse were quite enough to beget the semi-mystical thinly-veiled, allegorical tragedy of "Prometheus Bound." Little light, I conceive, is to be gained, as to his purpose, from antecedent mythical conceptions of Zeus and Prometheus; but rather, in such legends slightly changed, he found both the form and drapery needed for the Apocalyptic expression of his own deep life-thought. But though keenly alive to the slavery of his lot, beginning with desire and sustained by an unquenchable hope of the far-off coming liberty of Man, when he laid down his pen at the catastrophic close of "Prometheus Bound," it was with a virtual confession that he could conceive no fitting sequel. Whatever attempt he may have made, must, to his own mind and to his countrymen have appeared unworthy of his former work, and—it has not come down to us.

## II.

The task that Æschylus could not perform fell to a modern poet actuated by much the same instincts, suffering bitter social ostracism, inflamed by the same desire, animated by the same hope; but the product of an additional twenty-four centuries of human progress—to conceive the possible and probable solution of the Æschylean problem.

Shelley's purpose, as expressed by himself, was to familiarize the highly-refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful

idealisms of moral excellence; aware that, until the mind can love and achieve and trust and hope and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are seed cast upon the highway of life, which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust, although they would bear the harvest of his happiness. Or, translated into language applicable to the problem before us, he is conscious that no great reformation to society is possible until the individual be educated through the heart to feel the need of reform.

Æschylus could not unbind Prometheus, because he was an aristocrat and a Greek; his sympathies were not broad or deep enough. Shelley could give an approximate solution to the problem because his sympathies and love were as broad as humanity and deep as the well-springs of being. Even the defects in his own moral conduct were the blighted blossoms of this noble sympathy and love. He had, he said himself, "a passion for reforming the world," and left no phase of his social experience untouched by his reforming hand. Whatever else may be said of him, his love for man was sincere and his consistency unquestioned. He was a wild flower of Christianity which could not thrive in ecclesiastical conservatories but would have withered and died. Thus, while perhaps unconsciously retaining the essence of the Christian spirit, he looked upon Christian dogmatism and conventionality as the tyrannic Æschylean Jove, and set about delivering man from his thralldom. Nor was he very far wrong; for the thing the world had accepted and labeled Christianity was not the genuine article but a clumsy pagan substitute, and nearly all it promulgated and encouraged was derived from pagan superstition. The conventional usages, derived from bastard Christianity for the most part, are, to many noble minds, unnatural, unholy and tyrannous.

But the true Christian spirit contained a magic solvent of all oppression and suppressive tyranny, and though he

rejected the label, Shelley in all his onslaughts against superstition employed this magic solvent—Love. Love in individual relations would necessarily lead to larger intellectual and moral liberty—this much is certain. And if Shelley made any mistake it was not in the ideal aimed at but in the impulsive, impatient, youthful manner in which he set about his reforms—by angry demolition, as it were, instead of assisting society to a natural, healthful growth into larger, truer life. But at all events, he had found the key to the solution of the *Æschylean* problem.

Shelley began where *Æschylus* left off.

Prometheus, undaunted and more than ever hopeful after three thousand years of helpless torture (for he sees the end is nearing), is the same resolute opponent of Superstition's tyranny, the same loving, long-suffering friend of man. He has improved somewhat in character, according to modern standards, in the long interim. When we last saw him in *Æschylus*, he was stern and boastful, haughty and unforgiving, thirsting for revenge and believing that every added pain he bore would some day be additional torture to Jove. This was consonant with the olden ideal. When, however, we first meet him in the pages of Shelley he declares:

"I hate no more  
As then, ere misery made me wise.  
I am changed, so that aught evil wish  
Is dead within, although no memory be  
Of what is hate," . . .

No wish for revenge now inspires his fortitude, but only the pure love of men and the undying trust in the triumph of righteousness. Still no thought of yielding—now less than ever—for hope and faith, his guiding stars, are in the ascendant now and augur swiftly coming days. Jove's dominion is weakening and his subjects growing more dissatisfied as is shown by the opening lines of the poem:

"Monarchs of Gods and Dæmons and all Spirits—  
But One—who throng those bright and rolling  
worlds.

Which thou and I alone of living things  
Behold with sleepless eyes! regard this earth  
Made multitudinous with thy slaves whom thou  
Requiest for knee-worship, prayer and praise,  
And toil and hetacombs of broken hearts,  
With fear and self-contempt and barren hope."

And a great change, too, has taken place in the number and minds of Prometheus' sympathizers, for they are more numerous, more anxious and more outspoken. But they are terrified at the change in him fearful that at last he is in mildness about to yield to Jove. Now he who was once so haughty wishes "no living thing to suffer pain," trembles at his own curse hurled at the head of Jove in the long ago, and wishes it could be unsaid.

Then Earth utters her lament:

"Misery, oh, misery to me,  
That Jove at length should vanquish thee!  
Wail, howl aloud, Land and Sea—  
The Earth's rent heart shall answer ye!  
Howl, Spirits of the living and the dead!  
Your refuge, your defence, lies fallen and vanquished."

First Echo—

"Lies fallen and vanquished?"

Second Echo—

"Fallen and vanquished!"

She and her echoes were unacquainted with the strength that comes from Love, not Hate. And Earth has not yet seen enough of it to have much confidence in it! But Ione saw deeper and cried:

"Fear not: 'tis but some passing spasm—  
The Titan is unvanquished still,"—

though she did not understand the source of his strength.

Now begins for Prometheus an indefinite period of awful torture, torture that tries his soul to the uttermost, torture that horrifies all Nature and makes even Jove's ministers turn pale with grief and pity. Mercury holds out to him the hope that if he would only clasp Jove's throne in intercession;

"bend thy soul in prayer,"

he might "dwell among the Gods the while, lapped in voluptuous joy":

Prometheus replies:



"I would not quit  
This bleak ravine, these unrepentant pains."

*Mercury—*

"Alas! I wonder at, yet pity thee."

*Prometheus.—*

"Pity the self-despising slaves of Heaven,  
Not me within whose mind sits peace serene  
As light in the sun, throned. How vain is talk!  
Call up the fiends."

And yet in the midst of all his torment he has some resources suited to his happiness. And here we find most clearly Shelley's expression of his own experience. He was in Italy while writing this poem, driven there by what he considered injustice at home and by the demands of his health. He felt himself "an exile and, strongly impressed with the feeling that the majority of his countrymen regarded him with sentiments of aversion" on account of his liberal opinions, he "sheltered himself from such disgusting and painful thoughts in the calm retreats of poetry, and built up a world of his own—with the more pleasure, since he hoped to induce some one or two to believe that the world might become such, did mankind themselves consent."

So he paints Prometheus seeking enjoyment in the "Chorus of Spirits of the Mind." A few detached lines will show in what channels his mind was moving:

*First Spirit—*

"On a battle-trumpet's blast  
I fled thither fast, fast, fast.  
Mid the darkness upward cast,  
From the dust of creeds outworn,  
From the tyrant's banner torn,  
Gathering round me onward borne,  
There was mingled many a cry—  
Freedom! Hope! Death! Victory!"

The second Spirit, said he,

"speeded hither on the sigh  
Of one who gave an enemy  
His plank, then plunged aside to die."

The third Spirit came from "a sage's bed": the fourth had slept "on a poet's lips." And all brought real comfort to the sufferer.

But the strongest source of peace is Love. An atmosphere of calm, peaceful love surrounds and pervades the poem. No more display of stormy pas-

sion, as in *Æschylus*, but a thickening atmosphere of loving sentiment and sympathy permeates all the poem save where Jove or his Fairies appear. But these cormorants cannot stand the atmosphere and vanish early from the scene leaving Love to reign supreme; and the Chorus sings:

"In the atmosphere we breathe,  
As buds grow red when snow storms flee,  
From Spring gathering up beneath,  
Whose mild winds shake the elder-brake,  
(And the wandering herdsmen know  
That the white-thorn soon will blow)  
Wisdom, Justice, Love and Peace,  
When they struggle to increase,  
Are to us as soft winds be  
To shepherd-boys, the prophecy  
Which begins and ends in thee."

The atmosphere of Love thickens; all the world's combined sympathies turn more and more to the divine-man in his unmerited suffering, and the doom of Jove approaches. We cannot follow the poem in detail: much of it is not strictly pertinent to the trend of the thought we have been following. One thing is needed to complete the picture of character of the victorious Son of Man, and that is Jove's own testimony when his hour had come and he realized that his doom was hopeless: he cried to his inflexible conductor to the realm of woe:

"Oh,  
That thou wouldst make mine Enemy my judge,  
Even where he hangs, seared by my long revenge,  
On Caucasus! *He* would not doom me thus.  
Gentle, and just and dreadful, is he not  
The Monarch of the World?"

But Jove is dragged down, down to the darkness of Abysmal Night. Humanity, freed from fear of him, joyfully releases Prometheus from his age-long torture-chamber and exalt him to his rightful place as "Monarch of the World."

The poem closes with Shelley's conception of what the world freed from the shackles and burdens of Superstition, would be:

"This is the day which down the void abysm,  
At the Earth-born's spell, yawns for Heaven's despotism,

And Conquest is dragged captive through the deep.  
 Love, from its awful throne of patient power  
 In the wise heart from the last giddy hour  
 Of dread endurance, from the slippery steep,  
 And narrow verge of crag-like agony, springs,  
 And folds over the world its healing wings.  
 Gentleness, Virtue, Wisdom and Endurance—  
 These are the seals of that most firm assurance  
 Which bars the pit over Destruction's strength;  
 And, if with infirm hand Eternity,  
 Mother of many acts and hours, should free  
 The serpent that would clasp her with his length,  
 These are the spells by which to reassume  
 An empire o'er the disentangled doom.  
 To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;  
 To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;  
 To defy power which seems omnipotent;  
 To love and bear; to hope till hope creates  
 From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;  
 Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;  
 This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be  
 Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;  
 This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory!"

I have sought in this brief essay to point out the most probable interpretation of the meaning of Prometheus in the Æschylean thought. Of Shelley's meaning there can be no doubt; and, starting from his drama and running back through Æschylus we find the thread unbroken. Taking Æschylus alone, I see no difficulty in the interpretation; for Prometheus' own catalogue of what he had done for man, with the consequences to himself, show me conclusively that Æschylus meant to show the trials and hardships of all discoverers and reformers in the face of the ignorance, bigotry, conservatism and superstition of society. He could not speak his thought fully without danger to his life; he suffered and smarted under the scourge of the priesthood and withered under the tyranny of the whiffle-minded Athenian democracy, until his soul was sick of longing, striving and defeat. Like all great souls, misunderstood by his age, he looked to the future for vindication; and he merely put into the mouth of Prometheus his own trials and hopes.

But there is a still larger view of the Prometheus idea as developed by Æschylus and Shelley. It is a favorite idea of the prophets of antiquity all over the earth, that sometime a liberator of the

souls of men from all bondage and tyranny is coming. India, China, Persia, Egypt, Palestine, Scandinavia, Mexico and so on, have furnished their prophetic vision of the Coming One. Why not Greece? I believe we have it here. In the hope, faith, certainty of coming deliverance, Æschylus was a Christian before Christ. Shelley disgusted with the tangible, visible body of so-called Christianity, was yet a prophet of higher Christian truth and a fuller spiritual redemption.

The Logos Doctrine or Purpose of God in the creation of Man and in the progress of the world is another idea involved in these poems. According to this doctrine, there was planted in the first man born into the world the likeness of God or the germ of the highest spiritual manhood. This Logos or Man-Spirit constantly drives men on toward the realization of the purpose of creation the evolution of the highest type of being. It dwells in some more richly than in others and places them in advance of their age. It is a universal truth seen by Plato, no less clearly than by Isaiah, that when a man comes who is approximately perfect, i. e., relatively to his associates, they at once proceed to impale or crucify him. Æschylus also saw it and painted it for us in Prometheus, making Jove stand for the ignorance and bigotry of society.

And the last feature of these dramas I shall call attention to as marking them a part of universal religious thought or instinct, is the plain unwavering hope they contain and faith they exemplify in a coming kingdom of God among men. For this instinct is universal; except in the bigoted brains of a recreant Church that will not have it so because they do not want it so. The Sermon on the Mount is a universal sermon appealing to universal instinct and intended for universal application. Only the self-professed Christian Church dares or wills to call it impractical. The native

instinct of the common human heart receives it gladly and believes in it. This Kingdom of Heaven was the battle-cry of Æschylus and Shelley, and the modern world will make it the slogan of victory over all human wrong and

oppression. It is the watchword of that higher liberty which knows no law because it needs no law—except the Law of Love!

F. H. GILE.

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## THE AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS.

BY ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

"It's strange to me," said Ignaty with a skeptical but embarrassed smile.

"What's strange?"

"This: at one end they beat you in the face; at the other they wash your feet. Is there a middle of any kind?"

The door of the room was flung open, and Nikolay, standing on the threshold, said:

"And in the middle stand the people who lick the hands of those who beat you in the face and suck the blood of those whose faces are beaten. That's the middle!"

Ignaty looked at him respectfully, and after a pause said: "That's it!"

(Maxim Gorky in *Mother*. Chapter XXVI.)

THE OLDER generation of readers will remember how Matthew Arnold, after indulging in the bitterest of Philippias upon the vulgarity and Philistinism of the English middle classes to which the vast majority of his admiring readers belonged, was wont to comfort them by solemnly and graciously assuring them that "they were the best stuff in this Nation." The American middle class has long cherished a similar comforting belief. Moralists have been unwearied in pointing out that they have escaped both the enervating influences of luxury and the degrading and debasing effects of poverty, so that they furnished a congenial soil for the growth of what our Civilization has agreed to call the cardinal virtues. There has been much truth in this adulation of the American middle class in which our preachers and Fourth-of-July orators have long delighted. Down to the Civil War America

was the paradise of the middle class. The great typical American achievements in history have been wrought by the middle class. In a sense the middle class was the American nation. The ideals and principles which the world labels as distinctively American are beyond doubt the ideals and principles of the American middle class *that was*.

But the world moves and history is a flowing stream. The sturdy and independent middle class that *was America* from 1776 to 1860 has well-nigh disappeared from the world's stage. Never before has history been made so rapidly and in the making its very factors have been transformed. After the Civil War down to the early eighties the urban middle class grew in numbers and wealth with the growth of manufacturing and the miraculous spread and development of commerce. But the history of America from 1884 to the present day is simply the history of the crushing and metamorphosis of the middle class. By 1884 the capitalist mode of production in America has come to stand squarely on its own feet. At this stage in industrial development, in the words of Karl Marx, "One capitalist always kills many." So it was in America. In the intense competition within the capitalist class the smaller capitalists went to the wall. Finally we reached a stage where even men with millions were threatened with

commercial extinction, and the Trust became a necessity. This is distinctly the age of the Trust. The Trust has brought with it a new middle class made up of a host of salaried employes and people dependent in one way or another upon these vast aggregations of capital. This new middle class is essentially parasitic. The old middle class has not entirely disappeared, but who would be bold enough to say it dominates the life of the nation as it did prior to 1860? But while survivals of it still exist here and there, psychologically it has been transformed. It exists merely by sufferance. Its members tremble when they open their daily papers. If their funds are invested in railway securities, the paper may tell them that the manipulations of a Harriman have reduced or cut off their income. If they are merchants the paper may tell them of competition by the large department stores which they cannot hope to be able to meet. What analogy is there between such a class and the sturdy men who made the American history we glory in? In no real sense can they be called independent. Psychologically there is little difference between these survivals of the old middle class and the new middle class characteristic of the Trust Era.

Hard is their position. If one has pity or sympathy to bestow they need it far more than does the sturdy working-class, the inevitable lords of To-morrow. Servility and tyranny are both essential to their existence. Servile they must be to the greater capitalists who can crush them by a word or a gesture; tyrants they must be to the poor upon whose backs they ride. It was Tolstoi who said "the rich were willing to do everything for the poor except get off their backs." This is true, but the only way the American middle class can get off the backs of the poor is by committing financial suicide and themselves becoming members of the working class, and it must be remembered that the conditions of working-class life would be far

more galling and unbearable to them than they are to the born proletarians. Within the frame-work of society, as it is, there is no escape for them from servility and tyranny. Inexorably are they doomed to be sycophants and vampires. "In the middle stand the people who lick the hands of those who beat you in the face and suck the blood of those whose faces are beaten. That's the middle!"

In the new America which you and I have to face class lines are just as vital a reality as they long have been in Europe. On the one hand we have a few thousands of shirkers of fabulous wealth, and on the other millions of workers living in poverty and threatened with pauperism. Between stand the Sycophants and Vampires.

But there is hope. They feel the ignominy of their position, and the trait that is most characteristic of them as a class is discontent. Is it surprising? What man with red blood in his veins could be contented knowing that he was economically compelled to lick the hands of those who beat the workers in the face and suck the blood of those whose faces are beaten? Let us be thankful that the American middle class, transformed as it is, has not yet reached that depth of degradation. The habits of thought, the ethics and ideals that the American middle class formed in the days of its vigor still persist in the middle class of to-day. Hence it writhes in discontent—too often futile and impotent discontent. It supports the immense literature of destructive criticism—the literature that has been aptly labeled "muck-rake" literature. Better yet, it is more and more coming to the support of the constructive literature of the coming era of Fellowship.

It is scarcely too much to say that the dominant note of the intellectual life of the middle class is still Idealism. It has persisted in refusing to recognize its own doom; it dauntlessly hopes and strives for better things. Hence it has



enthusiastically supported the myriads of ephemeral reform movements that have flitted across the American stage. But the best brains in the middle class are now seeing all too clearly that their class is doomed; that as a class they have no hope; that their only salvation is to abandon their class hopes and aspirations, and join the workers in their struggle to wipe out all class lines by absorbing all men in the Universal Brotherhood based on common ownership of the means of life. One of the best proofs that this process is actually going on is the increasing frequency with which we see the phrase "parlor socialist" in the columns of the daily newspapers. The parlor socialist has come, and come to stay; but as parlor socialists become more numerous they will attract less notice individually in the papers.

While the best elements in the middle class are tending to join forces with the workers in the socialist movement, the Capitalists, alarmed for the institution of private property, are endeavoring to frame programs and policies that will be acceptable to the farmers as the largest body of voters who have a direct economic interest in the conservation of private property. President Roosevelt is the great protagonist of this farsighted capitalist policy. It seems likely that this combination of intelligent capitalists and farmers will control the political power for some years to come. Opposed to them will be a small and negligible party of ultra-conservatism—the Bourbons of Capitalism—and the ever-swelling party of the workers—the Socialists. The middle class will divide; its parasitic part will join the party of the impotent Bourbons and furnish the majority of the few votes it will muster; its virile part will join the Socialists.

But nothing less than the necessity of escaping from a state of involuntary sycophancy and vampiredom could drive a man with the typical middle-class psychology into Socialism. His mental

habits rebel. The belief in the sacredness of private property dates back to a civilization based on handicraft when property was usually the reward of individual industry. This handicraft civilization gave rise to the Natural Rights philosophy. This belief in Natural Rights, including the right of private property, still persists in the middle class. The great capitalist who has grown rich by trampling on the property rights of his competitors has lost all respect for private property, though he is willing to pay hirelings well to preach its sacredness to those who do not possess it. For the great mass of the propertyless toilers the epigram of Proudhon, "Property, it is theft," has long been an axiom. The middle class is the only class in America in which the Family and the Home are still to be found. The men of the upper capitalist class are, to all intents and purposes, polygamists, while the ease and frequency of divorce has made marriage for the women of that class merely trial marriage. To those who know anything of the statistics of female and child labor it is a mockery to talk of the Home or Family of the Proletarian. Hence the middle class man is repelled by a movement which seeks to make women truly independent and the undisputed mistresses of their own minds and bodies.

Religion still persists in the middle class. The Church has no attractions for the Socialist workingman, who always looks with suspicion upon priest and clergyman as hirelings of his oppressors.

But in spite of all these obstacles the Idealism and the sturdiness and independence which many of the middle class still retain are driving them into the great movement for world-wide Fellowship. Competing with each other to the death, the very conditions of their lives make them heart-hungry for the comradeship and human solidarity which are the very essence of the Socialist movement.

The Socialist movement needs the

Idealism which the Parlor Socialists are bringing to it, and the workers will welcome them eagerly and trustingly. Will the Parlor Socialists prove worthy of this confidence? Probably not for the first few years of their Socialist activity. The mere acceptance of the Socialist goal has no power to work a miraculous change in one's whole psychological make-up. It is but natural that one who thinks he comes from a higher social altitude to join a movement of his inferiors should fancy himself called upon to be a teacher and a leader. But the man who has the courage to leave his own class in the first instance will pretty surely develop the higher and finer courage to humble himself and become a learner at the feet of those he came to teach. When once the Parlor Socialist has done this, he ceases to be a Parlor Socialist and becomes a Comrade of the 30,000,000 men and women who march behind the Red Flag of the International working class.

One cannot in an instant or a year rid oneself of the mental habits ingrained by a lifetime of sycophancy and vampiredom. To the middle-class man or woman joining the Socialist movement it might well

be said, "Except ye be born again, ye cannot become a worthy comrade of the working class." So long as the middle class Socialist feels that he has a message for the working class or that he is called upon to improve and broaden the tactics of the Socialist movement, his influence (if he has any) on the movement is likely to be harmful. But, just so soon as he changes his rôle from teacher to learner, literally limitless opportunities for useful service to his fellow men and women open out before him.

"In the middle stand the people who lick the hands of those who beat you in the face and suck the blood of those who are beaten," but the men and women who to-day are in the middle can, if they will, become valiant soldiers in the mighty army of workers which is fighting all over the world to make it impossible henceforth for anyone to be beaten in the face. To them goes out the cry of the workers:

"Come join in the only battle wherein no man can fail,  
Where whoso fadeth and dyeth his deeds shall still prevail."

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.  
*New Canaan, Connecticut.*

## THE MESSAGE OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

By F. EDWIN ELWELL.

*Note:* Mr. F. Edwin Elwell, the famous sculptor, who is the author of the following paper, is not, we believe, himself a Christian Scientist, but he is a man of broad spiritual vision. He sees good in all earth's great religions, and even as a child he rejected the then popular theology which was so largely concerned with a personal devil who was regarded as the rival of Deity.—Editor of THE ARENA.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE is remodeling the religious thought of the day and doing a great work in relieving humanity from the awful fear that has resulted from the dogmas of the almost Christless church. Its work in this respect is not unlike that of the sculptor

who takes again the clay that has been used, but from which new forms arise and more beautiful images of the divine love of God.

It is difficult to conceive the immense value to the world of Mrs. Eddy's great work, embodying her new interpretation of the blessed gift of the Christ to man. The old ideal had grown as ponderous as the final ending of the Egyptian church, which went to decay before the dawn of Christianity because it had drifted away from the great ideal that had once been

a positive inspiration and which was embodied in the worship of the Virgin Mother of the Universe and her son Horus. Whenever man's spiritual vision becomes blinded by materialism or the vital soul of the people is lost in the rude cunning of man's baser passions and desires, then the world suffers until someone comes great enough to deserve the trust, to brush away the accretions of ages and reveal anew the truth to man.

We find spiritual verity in all the mighty Christian churches that have helped man upward. I love the Catholic church for the very reason that we find great good in the new church of Christ. The good that has been done by the Catholic church is not due to its powerful organization, but arises from the spiritual principle that has exerted a positive influence in spite of its objectionable features.

The old-time hell-fire bogey of the church has more and more repelled the thinking man and the lover of nature and of humanity, as the spiritual and intellectual vision of civilization has broadened. Early in life, while I lived in Concord, Massachusetts, I discarded this, to me, absurd and monstrous doctrine, and I could not help regarding with wonder not unmixed with amusement those who still held their breath in the presence of the Devil far more than in the presence of God.

The proposition that there is but one Force in the universe and that that Force is good, is as logical as that one and one make two or that the absence of light is darkness. A religion that appeals to the reason and makes man feel the existence of aliving and loving God is one that brings heaven down to earth, and many of the so-called evils of the flesh disappear of their own nothingness. Nothing is so healthy and sane for man as this belief in the love of Almighty God, and that we have time to live lives of useful happiness, free from sin and sickness. The great martyrs died without pain, for their belief in the love of God saved them.

The more men study the action of hate,

greed, selfishness and sensualism on the physical organism, the more apparent it is that here are found secret wellsprings of disease, suffering and physical death. We are under the reign of spiritual law, and all violations of that law bring inharmony which sooner or later is reflected in what is called disease. Every infraction of spiritual law breaks the harmony between man and the Creator he images, interposes a seeming veil between the Father and His child, and clouds the spiritual vision or perception of the man out of *rappor*t with Deity. We are what we think, and if we conceive of God as Good, loving, noble and true, then we shall mirror forth these attributes. To bring men and women into harmony with God, that they may reflect His life in lives of love and consecration to that which is highest and best, is the mission of Christian Science. It is bringing a positive realization of the intimate relation of God and man; making the children of the Common Father feel and understand that they are created in the image of the All-Father, the God who is all in all, who is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, who is spirit, not flesh and blood, and whose supreme expression is Love.

It is a very significant fact that the venomous attacks that have been made on Mrs. Eddy have had precisely the opposite effect from what her detractors desired. They have dwelt upon her early life and the circumstances of her sickness when young, of her poverty later, and on various incidents in her early life, in which innocent facts have too often been distorted, and gossip and idle tales, born largely of ignorance or prejudice, have been advanced in an effort to prejudice the public against her and the truth she has given to the world. But these attacks, as well as the recent attempt to deprive her of her property, have aroused the sense of fair play which is one of the noblest characteristics of American life and have led thousands of people hitherto ignorant of or indifferent

to Christian Science to investigate its teachings, and this investigation is being followed by a wonderful growth of the new-old faith.

Moreover, the evil attacks of Mrs. Eddy's detractors have thrown into bold and striking contrast the teachings and attitude of the founder of Christian Science. Mrs. Eddy has stood forth, venerable in years as measured by man,

yet strong in faith and courage and reflecting in a striking way the love that is the master note of life. Christian Science is proving a priceless treasure to civilization at a time when sordid greed and materialism are everywhere becoming insolently aggressive.

F. EDWIN ELWELL.

*Weehawken, New Jersey.*

## THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

### THE THEATER AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

I.

TO THE philosophic student of history awake to the deeper lessons of life and who earnestly desires to see his nation become a positive factor in promoting an upward-moving civilization, the awakening of the spiritual life of the people overshadows in importance all other issues; for history teaches no more solemn or important lesson than that the rise, true greatness and persistence of a race or civilization is in proportion to the general recognition of the unity of life and the inescapable obligations which the law of solidarity imposes upon men and nations.

In proportion as moral idealism, embracing justice and love, or the sentiments of brotherhood, prevails, a people rises and grows in enduring greatness. In proportion as egoism or selfishness becomes the dominant note in life, the vision which is the soul of a people, fades. History bears eloquent witness to the truth of the inspired seer's declaration, that "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Peace, harmony, prosperity, development and abundant life for men and the State wait upon the recognition of the truth that the growth of the individual and the perennial youth of the nation depend upon the supremacy of the spiritual.

We have reached a stage in civilization that is crucial in character—we almost said that we are at the parting of the ways. Certain

it is that the materialism of the market to-day is arrogant, aggressive and assertive in its battle against the moral idealism upon which progress waits. Hence all agencies which appeal in a compelling way to the imagination or thought-world of the people should be called into the service of humanity.

It is not enough to depend on church, home and school for the development of that which is finest and best in life. These mighty forces are supremely important; but, unhappily, each has left to the others a work that all should have mutually recognized as a master duty—the development of character through cultivation of the eternal moral verities. And this failure makes it vitally important, if our nation is to escape the fate of Rome and of all other peoples who have turned from the vision to embrace the clod, that we should summon to our aid the great potential educational influences whose value has rarely been adequately recognized.

Victor Hugo, about a half a century ago, realized the new and high demand of civilization when he wrote:

"All power is duty. Should this power enter into repose in our age? Should duty shut its eyes? and is the moment come for art to disarm? Less than ever. . . . The human caravan has reached a high plateau; and, the horizon being vaster, art has more to do. This is all. To every widening of the horizon, an enlargement of conscience corresponds.



"We have not reached the goal. Concord condensed into felicity, civilization summed up in harmony—that is yet far off.

"Art for art's sake may be very fine, but art for progress is finer still."

The utilization of all forces that appeal to the imagination and reason, for the awakening of the spiritual life or the systematic education of the people along lines that make for lofty morality, sanity, peace and true greatness, will be the master work of the twentieth century.

## II.

Among these influences that appeal to the imagination and give color to the thought-world of the people, the stage deserves far more consideration than it has received from modern civilization. It is a mighty educational influence that must make for weal or woe, because it appeals at once to the eye and ear; it stimulates the reason while it profoundly stirs the emotional nature.

The ancient Greeks more than any other civilized peoples seem to have appreciated the educational value of the theater and its compelling influence over the popular imagination. Wherever a Greek colony was planted, by the side of the barrack was to be found the theater.

In referring to this fact, Victor Hugo points out that "in the interest of civilization," Greece invariably in her small colonies, even in the remote outposts far from the throbbing heart of Attica, "by the side of the citadel had a theater."

The Greeks understood the potential influence which it exerted when the great plays of Æschylus and other masters were produced. They knew it would serve to "keep alive the flame of love for the fatherland."

"It threw around them," says Hugo, "the Greek spirit, it protected them from the influence of bad neighbors and from all temptations of being led astray. It preserved them from contact with Barbarism, it maintained them within the Hellenic circle. It was there as a warning. All those young offspring of Greece were, so to speak, placed under the care of Æschylus."

Among the great men of genius which the Europe of the nineteenth century produced, Richard Wagner and Victor Hugo are in many ways preëminent. Both possessed in a large degree the seeing eye of the true poet;

both were philosophers and humanitarians; and through the production of their own great creations, both had naturally made profound study of the effect of dramatic representation upon the popular mind.

And it is significant that they were both impressed with the potential value of the stage as a powerful educator—a mighty ally in the battle of the light with the darkness.

Wagner also placed his finger on one of the chief reasons why the stage and opera have so often proved a blight rather than a blessing. He pointed out that so long as the master passion of those who controlled the dramatic and operatic field was sordid greed for gold, the stage, instead of performing its true function as an enlightener and ennobler of brain and soul, would frequently be found exerting a degrading influence, by reason of productions that pandered to ignorance and to base appetites and desires. Feeling that only the emancipation of the drama from the deadly grip of soulless greed could make it the potent force it should be for the enlightenment of the people, he urged municipal and state-supported theaters.

Hugo said:

"The theater is a crucible of civilization. It is a place of human communion. All its phases need to be studied. It is in the theater that the public soul is formed."

The great Frenchman described at length the spectacle he had witnessed on holidays, when the theaters were thrown open free to the public and the great plays of Molière and other master works were being presented.

"The house," he tells us, "is crowded. . . . They pack together, crowd, amalgamate, combine and knead themselves in the theater—a living paste, which the poet is about to mould. The powerful thumb of Molière will presently make its mark on it. . . . The vast multitude looks, listens, loves; all consciences, deeply moved, throw out their internal fire; all eyes glisten. . . . The tumultuous crowd trembles, blushes, palpitates. . . . It is wanting in no kind of sympathy; it has in itself the whole keyboard, from passion to irony, from sarcasm to the sob. Its pity is more than pity, it is real mercy. God is felt in it. Suddenly the sublime passes, and the somber electricity of the deep instantly arouses all that mass of hearts; enthusiasm works its transfiguration. And now, is the enemy at the gates? (is

the country in danger? Give the word to this populace, and it will reenact Thermopylae. What has produced this transformation? Poetry.

"The multitude—and in this lies their grandeur—are profoundly open to the ideal. When they come in contact with lofty art they are pleased, they palpitate. Not a detail escapes them. The crowd is one liquid and living expanse capable of vibration. A mob is a sensitive-plant. Contact with the beautiful stirs ecstatically the surface of multitudes—a sure sign that the deeps are sounded."

Now it is this great truth, which the Greeks as a people recognized and which modern profound students of human life, like Wagner and Hugo, have also realized—the potential value of the theater as an engine for moral development or spiritual awakening, that we believe will appeal with increasing force to practical men and women of conscience and discernment and lead to the utilization of the theater as one of the most powerful allies of true progress.

### III.

To one awake to the value of modern educational theories, it may seem strange that the potential worth of the theater has been so little recognized; yet a little consideration of the facts involved will show that there are many reasons for this, chief among which may be mentioned:

(1) The old-time limited concept in regard to the scope of education.

(2) The rigid austerity and essentially narrow religious opinions of the dominant faith in the more progressive and civilized lands since the birth of Modern Times.

(3) The fact that the world has so long taken it for granted that the stage exists simply to amuse and entertain, and that it is morally negative when not positively immoral.

(4) The fact that the theater under these conditions has been largely abandoned to the management of men innocent of moral idealism and whose master aim has been to make the business yield as great a financial a return as possible, regardless of its influence on the imagination or thought-world of the actors and auditors.

In the first place, the dominant educational theories, until a comparatively recent day, were limited to drill work or intellectual training. Often education was so divorced

from practical life and character development, that a scholastic master might be the most impractical of men on the one hand and a moral pervert on the other. We are only beginning to realize that the only education worth the while is that which at once makes man useful, intelligent and high-minded.

In the second place, the license, worldliness and corruption of the church that rendered inevitable the great Protestant Reformation, led to a swing of the pendulum to the other extreme. An unreasoning narrowness and intolerance for art in all her splendid phases, and of literature in her lighter moods, as well as the drama, led many of the noblest minds in various lands to erect an artificial barrier between those who were supposed to be godly and those who found delight in things innocent in themselves and richly worth the while, such as painting, sculpture, romance and the drama. The Quakers, for example, at least the more strict of the faith, banished all pictures from their homes. A striking illustration of the austerity of these noble-minded people is found in the boyhood life of Benjamin West.

The lad, when he was six years of age, was surprised by his mother and sister with a picture he had drawn of the baby in the cradle. The natural pride and wonder of the mother, on account of the lad's achievement, soon gave place to a troubled heart. She feared he might have committed a sin in making the drawing. Now up to that moment the boy had never beheld a picture of any kind. His parents were, however, more liberal in their views than many Quakers of their day, and they did not prohibit the boy from following his natural bent. The progress he made was so remarkable that all saw that he was marvelously gifted; yet when the time came for him to decide whether or not he was to follow painting as a life-work, the case had to be brought before the congregation, and it was only after an earnest presentation of the case on the part of the parents and friends, who showed how painting Biblical pictures and noble scenes might do good, that the congregation decided that the lad might follow the profession of an artist, for which he was so splendidly endowed by nature and in which he became one of the greatest masters of his time.

The austerity of the Quakers was but little more than that of the Puritans or Covenanters, while touching the drama the voice

of the church in Protestant lands was practically a unit in discountenancing it as a powerful agency of the devil and a flourishing rival of the church.

Doubtless men of to-morrow will marvel that religious and moral leaders of civilization so long abandoned and fought something that all recognized exerted a great influence over the imagination of the people. It will be a source of wonder that for so many generations men failed to see that an institution that was thought to rival the church in its power over the people, and which certainly did appeal to the popular imagination in a powerful manner, might in the hands of men of lofty ideals be made an efficient aid to spiritual growth.

Another reason for the failure to appreciate the possible worth of the theater for elevating the ideals of the people is found in the fact that we see what we are looking for; but if the mind is focussed on one point, other things, possibly far more striking, are liable entirely to escape us, and for generations the main purpose of the theater has been the amusement of its patrons. Those who did not regard the theater as an agency of the devil, nevertheless saw in it merely something that yielded amusement, and failed to recognize how it might be utilized for advancing civilization; and thus the stage was largely abandoned to men of low ideals and sordid desires.

With the spread of the mania for gold in our land, the theater was quick to feel the moral enervation that the materialistic incoming tide exerted over society in all its ramifications. Finally the Theatrical Trust was formed by a few men who were typical representatives of the spirit of materialistic commercialism. It was not strange, therefore, that plays that pandered to sensual and debasing appetites and in which the stage carpenter was more in evidence than the man of letters, the poet or the teacher, largely held the boards; nor is it strange, under these circumstances, that when that fascinating drama that embodied one of the noblest sermons on lessons in ethics of modern times, "A Message from Mars," was presented to these managers, they promptly refused to consider it, declaring that the people did not want that kind of stuff.

Fortunately for the people, the author found an English actor with faith enough in the moral idealism of the people to risk its

presentation in London, with the result that it instantly scored a pronounced success and after a long and prosperous run over the water, came to America, where its success was even greater than in England, thus strikingly illustrating how the low ideals of the masters of the Theatrical Trust had led them to under-estimate the moral idealism of our theater-going public. No one could see "A Message from Mars" without being made better for what he saw and heard. It was a powerful sermon against mankind's besetting sin—selfishness; but it was far more effective than a pulpit discourse, especially in its influence over the imagination of the masses, because it addressed the eye as well as the ear; it appealed to the heart or feeling while it satisfied the reason in its demand for justice.

And we cannot too strongly emphasize the potential value of the theater in its influence over the popular imagination, by virtue of its message to the reason when it is off guard and thus unprejudiced and receptive. It appeals to the emotions—those wellsprings of profound feeling. It photographs pictures on the mental retina that long live in the memory, and it addresses the audience in the most effective possible manner, by summoning the eye to reinforce the ear in the reception of ideas and images presented. Even those who cannot follow arguments readily understand the facts involved in a vivid picture as an act on the stage. And when the eye helps the understanding at every step, and at the same time the imagination is reinforced by a powerful appeal to the emotional nature, it is evident that the auditor cannot escape the subtle and compelling influence of the drama, especially if the play is well presented so as not to offend the esthetic or artistic instincts of the beholder.

Many instances have come under our observation, of the power of the play over the imagination of man. Two typical examples must serve to illustrate this fact.

Several years ago a boy into whose hard, bleak and sterile life little came to feed the imagination, was favored from time to time with a ticket to the theater when some great historical play was being presented or when a healthy drama was on the boards. For many days after the youth had attended the theater he lived in the scenes he had beheld. On several occasions he came to us with questions that opened the way to teaching him

many things he would not willingly have learned if he had not had his imagination awakened. Thus for example, he had witnessed John McCullough play "Julius Cæsar." Some days later he came to us to ask if the things really occurred which he had beheld, and if Cæsar, Antony, Brutus and Cassius actually lived and had acted and thought as they did on the stage. This afforded the opportunity to interest the boy in Roman history. It, indeed, started him in a study which we doubt if he could have been induced to take up, had not the door of history been opened by the vivid pictures presented to his imagination in this play.

On another occasion he came to us to know if we believed the hero acted right in a certain crisis, and if certain things were the best that he could have done under the circumstances; and this afforded an opportunity to impress some ethical truths that we could not have effectively presented had not the boy come with eager inquiry stimulated by thoughts aroused by the play.

Watching the effect of the stage on this plastic mind, and seeing how the boy lived for days in the thought-world created in his mind by the plays, first directed our attention to the potential value of the theater as an engine for moral as well as intellectual development.

The second illustration we desire to cite as an example of the influence of the drama, has to do with the play of "Young Mrs. Winthrop." Many years ago we witnessed that charming play in company with a well-known educator. After seeing it, our friend said:

"I would give a great deal if some friends of mine who have drifted apart, and others who are drifting from each other, could see that drama."

A few years later we were discussing the potential value of the theater with a lady from a Western city, when she said:

"Did you ever see 'Young Mrs. Winthrop' played? Well," she continued, "let me tell you something that will interest you in con-

nection with that play. When it was produced in our city, over two years ago, two friends of mine, a husband and wife who had quarrelled and separated, (we think she said that divorce proceedings had been instituted; if not, they were about to be commenced) were both at the theater when the play was acted. After it was over, the husband went to the wife, who was weeping, and asked to have a talk with her. Together they went to her home. A full reconciliation followed, and to-day there is not a happier home in our city than theirs."

These illustrations serve to emphasize the thought we would impress.

To us it is a promising sign of a change that shall make the theater a positive force for the higher education of the people, that during the last few years a number of very notable plays of positive worth have appeared, and for the most part have been highly successful. "The Middleman," "The Man of the Hour," and Charles Klein's "The Lion and the Mouse" and "Daughters of Men," are typical examples of plays which must impress thoughtful people with the value of the stage and the importance of recognizing and making the drama one of the great factors for social righteousness.

We of to-day have a great responsibility resting upon us. No man lives to himself, and in a period like ours, when the forces of materialistic commercialism are so aggressively battling with moral idealism, it is vitally important that we summon to the cause of spiritual growth or true progress every agency that appeals to the reason, heart and imagination.

To-morrow is big with possibilities for humanity if we do our duty. Therefore, in the language of Victor Hugo, "Let us devote ourselves to the good, to the true, to the just. . . Here is the truth: to sing the ideal, to love humanity, to believe in progress, to pray toward the infinite."

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*



# POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Walker, in International Syndicate.

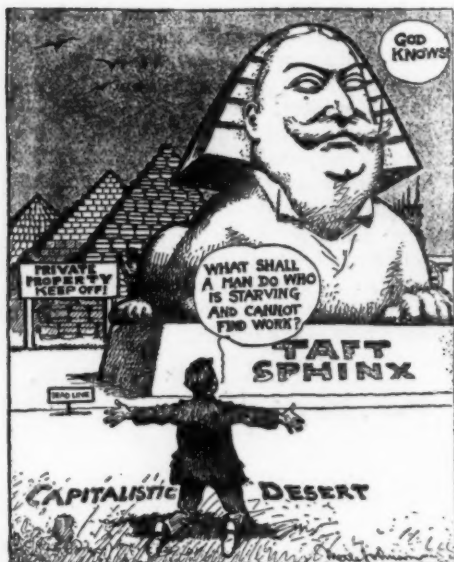
THE POLITICAL "MERRY WIDOW WALTZ."



From Ulk, Berlin.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE TRUST-KINGS.

THE BESIEGED (Rockefeller, Morgan and Harriman):  
"There is no break in the walls. We have built them  
too solidly."



Johnson, in Wiltshire's Magazine.

CONSULTING THE ORACLE.



Bradley, in Chicago Daily News.

THE VENTRILOQUIST.

A Bit of Continuous Vaudeville.



Spencer, in the Commoner, Lincoln, Neb.

THE WATER CURE.

He has prospered so prodigiously with water saturated stocks that he will not be satisfied until the currency is treated the same way.



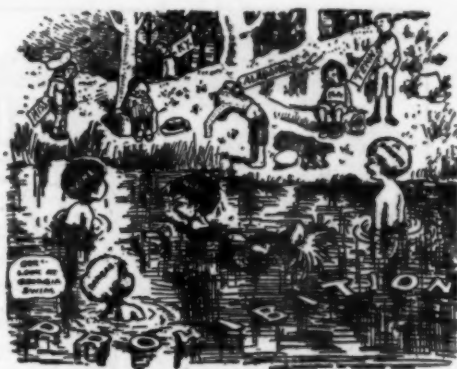
Savage, in Chicago Socialist.

TWO "STRAYS."



Donahey, in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

GOT HIM STARTED.



Brewerton, in the Atlanta Journal.

"COME ON IN, THE WATER'S FINE!"



Savage, in Chicago Socialist.

TOO MUCH FUN.



Boston American.

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HIGH FINANCIERS APPLAUD HANDY-MAN ALDRICH'S SPEECH DEFENDING HIS BILL.



Carpenter, in *Denver News*.

PANIC IN THE REPUBLICAN ROAD SHOW—THE FULL DINNER PAIL EXPLODES.

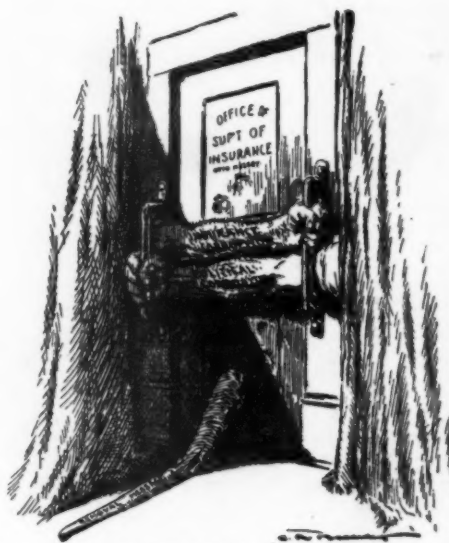


Walker, in *International Syndicate*.

POOR JOHN.

MR. STANDARD OIL—I hope this will relieve in a small way your financial stringency.

Early in March John D. Rockefeller will receive \$3,750,000 in oil dividends, making a total of \$6,250,000 in six months.—*News Item*.



Macauley, in *New York World*.

PROTECTED.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## AN APPEAL TO FRIENDS OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

### **The Foe Within The Gates.**

**T**HE AMERICAN people are facing one of the most critical periods in the history of popular government. It is indeed doubtful whether during the darkest days of the Revolution or of the Civil War, the life of free institutions was in such deadly peril as to-day; because in the earlier struggle the foe was from over-sea and the Americans were united and thoroughly awake to the magnitude of the peril. During the Civil War the Northern States were also practically a unit and able to act as a unit in carrying forward the work of the national government. Then also the friends of the Union were fully alive to the peril that confronted them.

Now the enemies of popular government are not only of the nation's own household, but they are posing as her chief friends and protectors and they are reinforced in city, state and national government. They have at their beck and call a large number of the most powerful daily papers of the land. They have retained an army of the most brilliant intellectual prostitutes that the bar of any nation has ever produced. Their hold on the national resources or the wealth of the country is so great, through ownership of the railways, the telegraph, telephone and express companies, and almost all other public utilities, and control of the banks, insurance companies and the great trusts and monopolies, that they can instantly control millions upon millions of dollars to maintain a position of defiance against the law of the land, to manufacture public sentiment against any incorruptible statesman, be he President of the United States or leader of the opposition, to control party machinery by vast corruption funds contributed to campaign committees and for elevating their handy-men to places of trust, while discrediting and driving into retirement all persons who cannot be bribed, seduced or frightened from resolute defence of the principles of free government and the rights of the people.

### **How Popular Government is Being Overthrown.**

The master secret of the growing powerlessness of the people in their efforts to secure

effective legislation to protect themselves from the great law-defying and moral criminals, is found in the power wielded by the money-controlled party machines in thwarting the popular will and securing enough handy-men of the campaign-contributing corporations to defeat, emasculate or by means of jokers render unconstitutional all measures that would prove a real menace to the criminal rich who are becoming a compact organized class as effective for their practical mastership of government and the people's resources as were the great feudal lords of the Middle Ages; and with the steady advance of corporate power in the control of the party machinery of the dominant parties and its hold on the great papers of both parties, it has grown more and more brazen and insolent in its attitude toward the people and all popular leaders of any party who consistently seek to curb the criminal aggressions of corporate wealth and to destroy corrupt practices in connection with government. The recent systematic attempt made from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the feudalism of privileged wealth and the Wall Street gamblers and high financiers, through the great newspapers of both parties which they control and through various other opinion-forming agencies, to discredit President Roosevelt and weaken his influence after he delivered his message of January 31st, is but one of several illustrations of how this new power that is overthrowing popular rule summons to its assistance its army of retainers, handy-men and serfs to discredit or destroy any one, no matter how high his station, who attempts to destroy lawlessness, corrupt practices and gross injustice—evil conditions that are absolutely overthrowing popular government.

Further illustrations of how the feudalism of wealth and the party machines are overthrowing popular government are found in the nullification of the will of the people or the overthrow of honest elections in various great cities, as, for example, in Philadelphia, when, after it had been overwhelmingly proved for years that the corrupt political boss and his machine, backed by privilege-seeking wealth, had been guilty of ballot-box stuffing, political intimidation, padding elec-



tion lists and other crimes against the ballot, such was the power of the feudalism of wealth behind the criminals that instead of the evil-doers being sent to the penitentiary, they are again the political autocrats of the city.

Again, Mr. Charles E. Russell has recently shown in a masterly manner almost incredible election frauds in New York City and elsewhere where the bosses and money-controlled machines are backed by the great privilege-seeking feudalism of corporate wealth. And the revelations that have come to light in Philadelphia, New York and other great cities are not exceptional. Before the advent of Mr. Folk, St. Louis was in quite as apparently hopelessly corrupt a condition as the two great eastern cities; while recent revelations in Denver and other western cities show the same defiance of popular government all along the line, when the great public-service corporations and privilege-seeking interests have united with the political bosses for the control and operation of the party machines. Everywhere is found the same spectacle of plunder of the community and spoliation of the people, together with the luxuriant growth of corrupt conditions that are absolutely destructive of popular government.

Still further, every attempt to curb corruption in great public and quasi-public enterprises and to bring about reforms that all thinking people admit to be necessary, are defeated by the power of the political bosses who do the bidding of the great malefactors. One case in point will be sufficient to illustrate this fact.

The three great insurance companies whose corrupt practices were so clearly established at the insurance investigation that the New York Legislature was forced to pass a law which was framed, or at least approved, by Mr. Hughes, the present governor, to prevent the high financiers from making the strong boxes of these companies their citadels of power and resource while playing the, to them, immensely popular game of high finance at the expense of honest industry and sound business methods, are to-day under their present management indulging in the same carnival of law-defiance that so amazed the world when exposed a short time since. But the Republican party refuses to remove the recreant superintendent of insurance, who is permitting this brazen defiance of law by the great criminals of Wall Street. We

say the Republican party is responsible for this, because the Republican party is the majority party in the New York Legislature, and, as has been clearly pointed out, if Mr. Hughes, the admitted master of New York politics to-day and the Governor of the commonwealth, should have insisted upon the removal of the superintendent being made a caucus measure, he would have been removed. The corrupt Democratic bosses and their henchmen in the Legislature, however, are equally guilty, inasmuch as a large number of them, under the leadership of the notorious Pat McCarren, have zealously worked to uphold the discredited superintendent and thus protect the great criminals.

Governor Hughes, before the presidential bee attracted his attention, tried to force the retirement of Superintendent Kelsey; but after the malodorous Boss Odell had come out as his special champion—Odell, the friend of Harriman—Mr. Hughes failed to use the weapon which the friends of honest government urged him to use—namely, to boldly demand as leader of the Republican party of the state that the removal of the superintendent be made a caucus measure, notwithstanding the fact that he had in his possession such amazing revelations that the party would have been absolutely compelled to have obeyed his request or court annihilation, for these revelations, officially made, brought to light, the almost incredible fact that the old abuses were even thus early again rampant in all three of these insurance companies. They showed that the loans to the Harriman interests from the funds of the Mutual Life of New York now amount to \$56,323,500. Turning from the Mutual Life to the Equitable Life, one finds a similar condition. "Thomas F. Ryan's control of the Equitable has produced results," says the *New York World* in an editorial broadside published on January 31st, "as disastrous to its policy-holders as Harriman's control of of the Mutual."

The *World* then shows how the Equitable Company under the Ryan-Morton mismanagement has defied the law, and it continues: "One of the results of this violation by the Equitable of the insurance law is to put its surplus at Thomas F. Ryan's disposal."

The *World* then gives a list of assets of the Equitable, of which \$14,575,900 are in bonds of such corporations as the Interurban Rapid Transit Company, the Metropolitan Street

Railway Company, the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, and other Ryan interests; while \$27,048,517 are in the stocks of the Equitable Trust Company, Mercantile Trust Company, Lawyers' Title Insurance and Trust Company, and the National Bank of Commerce, making a total of \$41,624,417. And continuing, the *World* says:

"Also like Harriman with the Mutual, Ryan has further used the Equitable's money through the Equitable and Mercantile Trust Companies and the National Bank of Commerce. Part of this money through indirect channels helped pay the unearned dividends on the Metropolitan stock in the spring of 1907, when Mr. Ryan was unloading preparatory to the traction bankruptcy. In acquiring its Inter-Met. stock the Equitable violated sections 16 and 100 of the insurance law. The Equitable also acquired stock of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad and the Mercantile Safe Deposit Company in violation of law."

What the great high financiers, Harriman and Ryan, are doing with the funds of the Mutual and Equitable Insurance Companies, J. Pierpont Morgan is doing with the the New York Life's bonds, and these insurance companies are allowing this money to be used by the high financiers, all in defiance of the clear provisions of the law. The Republican machine and such disreputable bosses and corporation handy-men as Pat McCarren, who claim to be Democrats, are uniting in preventing the removal of the superintendent of insurance and the enforcement of the laws. And so it ever is when the party machine gains power. The corrupt corporations, trust magnates and high financiers control the bosses, and through liberal contributions and deals gain absolute mastery of the money-controlled political machine. In this way they are rendering free government a farce and are accomplishing the results of class-rule as effectively as if the master interests constituted an autocratic chief operating through bureaus or an aristocratic ruling class.

#### **The Two Great Perils That Confront us.**

This condition has brought us face to face with two perils the gravity of which it would be impossible to over-estimate. If the criminal rich and party bosses continue their high-handed game at politics, if the great criminals who are the master spirits of railway corpo-

rations, trusts and monopolies are to continue to brazenly defy the law; if the people are to continue to plead in vain for radical and effective relief from cruel extortion and shameful injustice, they will become so exasperated at the systematic thwarting of the ends of justice and the public weal that at length we may well expect revolts or revolution. Either an unspeakably corrupt despotism operating under the form of republican rule, or a violent revolt will be the result of present conditions, if radical changes are not speedily brought about. There is no escaping one of these supreme catastrophes. The feudalism of privileged wealth is fully awake to the situation and is actively preparing for the complete domination or rule of the people—political mastership complemented by lawless and irresponsible business mastership.

#### **The Only Peaceful Method for Restoration of Popular Government.**

But, happily for free institutions, there is offered a peaceable, constitutional and eminently practical method for restoring the government to the people and breaking the power of political corruptionists on the one hand and that of the great bands of law-breakers and moral criminals who are the power behind the bosses and party machines which have been the master influence in debauching American politics. Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum has proved perfectly practicable and successful wherever it has been introduced by measures that have been framed by friends of free government. In Switzerland it has proved so practical and so efficient that no serious thought by the people would for a moment be entertained looking toward changing this form of procedure.

Professor Frank Parsons, after an exhaustive personal investigation in Switzerland during which he interviewed leading representative citizens in every walk of life, recently stated that "did not find one man who wished to go back to the old plan of legislation by elected delegates without the opportunity of appeal to the people."

The Initiative and Referendum have served to preserve to Europe, in Switzerland, the freest, purest and most ideally democratic government known to history.

In Oregon Direct-Legislation has destroyed the corrupt lobby, broken the power of the political bosses and deprived the great cor-

porations of the mastership of government which they had so long enjoyed. The fact that it has proved so efficacious and that it has given the state of Oregon the best, purest and most democratic government enjoyed by any American commonwealth, and the further fact that Oregon has been a great Republican state, has led the master bosses and chief handy-men of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the corporation chiefs, of the East no less than of the West, to realize that unless the people can be again dethroned in Oregon, the Republic will soon be recaptured by the people without bloodshed, and the strong arm of corrupt wealth will be shorn of its strength or its power to further rob the millions and debauch their government.

Moreover, the great high financiers, the master gamblers of Wall Street, and the public-service corporation chiefs who have set their hearts on the complete control of government, realize that so long as Oregon maintains a truly popular government, the plot for complete overthrow of free institutions and mastership by the few who control the great sources of national wealth will be imperilled. They have therefore set out deliberately and systematically to overthrow popular rule in Oregon and to reenthroned machine government.

#### **The Campaign Against Popular Rule in Oregon.**

Evidences point to a deep-laid plot from without to attack and overthrow the free government of Oregon. We have good reason to believe that this plot against free government in Oregon was formulated by the master spirits of the "interests" or predatory wealth, and the machine bosses in the East, long before any systematic attempt was made to recapture the state for the money-controlled machine. In support of this opinion we submit some interesting and significant facts.

Over a year ago the *Boston Transcript*, which, since Mr. O'Brien has assumed management, has become a paper that should be dear to the heart of feudalism of privileged wealth, published a most amazingly mendacious editorial leader representing the Referendum as proving a failure in Oregon. It abounded in falsehoods which every one cognizant of the facts of Oregon politics knew to be untrue. This editorial represented the *Portland Oregonian* as deserting the cause of Direct-Legislation, and gave what

seemed a circumstantial statement to show that the Referendum was a failure in the great Pacific commonwealth. Copies of the *Transcript* were sent to the *Portland Oregonian*, and that paper forthwith published an editorial entitled "Strange News from Boston," in which it said:

"From far-off Boston comes the information that Oregon is sick of the Initiative and Referendum and will soon repeal it. The *Boston Transcript* gives us this information, which may be said to be new though not true."

Mr. W. S. U'Ren, one of the leading publicists and lawyers of Oregon and one of the master spirits of the Direct-Legislation movement of that state, replied in detail to the *Transcript's* editorial, showing it to be a tissue of misstatements.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of this reckless editorial in the *Transcript*, the press dispatches for plutocratic and machine-governed papers from the Atlantic to the Pacific published articles of the same general tenor as the *Transcript's*, showing a systematic attempt to mislead the public and also revealing what was in the minds of the enemies of democratic republican government.

In the light of recent events it would appear that some pioneers in the East had determined that the *Oregonian* was to desert Direct-Legislation, a year before that paper found out that fact, for the *Transcript's* editorial which called forth the *Oregonian's* reply entitled "Strange News from Boston," was published over a year ago, and now comes the news of the *Oregonian* being won over to the interests represented by the corporations and the political bosses. At least, such is indicated, as will be seen from an article which we reproduce later in this editorial, which was published in a recent issue of the *Portland Journal*, of Portland, Oregon.

Now if, as we believe from the many indications of which the above is one, a plot has been concocted by the public-service corporations, the Wall-Street gamblers and high financiers who are bent on complete mastership of government, and the great bosses and masters of the money-controlled machines, to defeat the primary law and Direct-Legislation, in Oregon, then it is needless to say that money will flow into Oregon like the waters over Niagara. The law-defying cor-

porations and the great gamblers of Wall Street fear nothing so much as Direct-Legislation, because anything that will take the power of government from their handy-men or the machine bosses will imperil their power to corrupt government, rob the people and enjoy immunity while defying the law. So long as the corporations have the Boss Durhams, Coxes, McCarrens, Murphys, Fitzgeralds, Lodges, Penroses, Aldriches and their ilk as masters of the political machines, they can laugh at the people, because the latter possess only the shadow of popular sovereignty; the substance is possessed by the masters of the money-controlled machines.

#### **The Situation in Oregon.**

If our surmises are correct, the people of Oregon have a far greater battle on their hands than they yet imagine. They have no time to lose in sounding the alarm and rallying to the cause of free government in order to protect themselves from the most insidious, unscrupulous and merciless despotism of modern times—the despotism of law-defying corporations backed by corrupt political machines and an army of shrewd, powerful and alert legal handy-men.

From the article which we publish below from the *Portland Journal*, and from a letter just received from a leading attorney of Oregon, who has been one of the most indefatigable friends of popular rule, it is evident that the enemies of free institutions are already doing most efficient work.

#### **The Portland Journal on The Coming Struggle.**

We invite the serious attention of all our readers to the following article from the *Portland Journal* of February 12th:

"The political sky of Oregon is full of omens. It is impossible to mistake their meaning. They indicate that the coming struggle is to be one of the most remarkable in the history of Oregon. It will be remarkable for its alignments, and remarkable for its issues. It will not be a contest of men, but of measures. For the moment party lines will be sundered, and the alignments be strictly on principle. It will present features in the rending of parties that will not be unlike those of war times. It will be to the plain people in its effects on their interests and privileges the most important contest in the political history of the state.

"The issues are to arise from unusual causes, and will present striking features. A small but powerful group of men in Oregon has no confidence in the masses. It holds them to be a jungle of incompetency and ignorance. It thinks them too illiterate to take part in law-making through the initiative. It believes them too ignorant to exercise the right of veto by the referendum. It regards them as unfit to take part in the selection of senator, and insists that the legislature ought to do it. It looks upon them as incompetent to nominate men for office through the primary law, and wants that function performed by conventions of delegates. In the conferring of these privileges upon the plain people, it thinks a grave mistake was made, and wants them taken away. It not only wants them taken away, but proposes to do so if political trickery and concert of movement can do it.

"The *Oregonian* is to aid in the movement. It is already leading the fight. It attacks and caricatures the initiative. It condemns the primary law. It spurns Statement No. 1, and ridicules it in cartoons. It insists that the people should not have the right to veto by use of the referendum.

"Its allies will be the self-sufficient few who think the masses incompetent and unsafe. Others will be the corporations, whose special privileges of non-taxation have been curtailed by laws passed by the people through the initiative. The friends of Senator Fulton seem likely to be another ally. But a most important group in the aggregation will be the politicians and dethroned bosses, whose rule of the people and domination of public affairs were broken by the initiative, the referendum and the various provisions of the primary law. This is the crowd that will have to be fought. It is a desperate and forceful alliance and the people may as well understand first as last that it will be a fierce and furious contest.

"The danger is that the attack will be made from ambush. The enemy dare not expose its plans by an open fight. Subterfuge, deception and the methods known to deepest-dyed political trickery will be its battle assets. Its objective point will be the legislature. It wants to control, and by every hazard, proposes to control, that body. If it can do that, its victory is nearly won. With a legislature to do its bidding, by passage of laws and amendments to laws,



by a constitutional convention, and by other devices and arts known to political trickery, it can sweep away almost every one of the new popular lights that have been conferred upon the people. The masses may think this a note of over-alarm, but it is not. It is immediately imminent, and terribly true. This will be plain to all later on.

"Apathy among the masses is the chief danger. It is always dangerous. It is by the apathy of the voter that the great crimes of legislation and administration are committed against the masses. The latter sleep while nefarious schemes of what Mr. Roosevelt calls 'crimes of cunning by rich male-factors' are hatched. They are asleep to-day, while this new enemy of popular rights is forming for action.

"The first battle will take place at the primary election in April, and the struggle will be over legislative candidates. The pledges of those candidates will be the test of victory or defeat. If every legislative candidate nominated is pledged to every provision of the primary law, it will be a rout for the enemy of popular rights. If pledged to defend for the people the right to make laws through the initiative the right to select senator through Statement No. 1, the right to nominate officers through the primary law, and the right to veto laws and appropriations by the referendum, a victory will have been won by the masses. If legislative candidates are not so pledged, the people will have been defeated in the first struggle, and will have another battle to fight in June. These are the issues, the struggle is on, and the outcome will be momentous to the common people of the state."

A personal letter from the leader to whom we have referred above, written from Portland and dated February 14th, contains some additional facts. Our correspondent says:

"We are facing a peculiar situation in Oregon at the present time—a situation which is truly described in an article lately appearing in the *Portland Journal* entitled 'The Coming Struggle,' a copy of which I enclose herewith. I once before wrote to you quite fully describing the manner in which the Initiative and Referendum law in this state was adopted by so large a majority, and I also explained to you that I thought the time would come when all the dethroned politicians and special interests of various kinds

would unite for an assault upon our whole system of Direct-Legislation. Well, that time seems about to have arrived. The workings of the Direct-Primary and Direct-Legislation have put numerous political bosses and machine tools on the retired list, and this numerous clamorous host, added to certain special interests, are uniting their capital, brains and influence to prevent any further forward movement for democracy, and they also wish, if possible, to overthrow every vestige of our popular enactments so far secured and return to the old-style boss system. They have apparently secured the *Oregonian* for their side, as well as many other journals of the outside counties. Statement Number One is the burning issue now before the voters. This is simply a question as to whether the legislature will vote the people's choice for United States Senator or not."

There are several measures to be voted on under the Initiative at the June election, among which are the following: (1) the Recall; (2) bill to instruct the legislature to vote for the popular choice for United States Senator; (3) corrupt practice act; (4) preferential voting requiring concurring majority for the election of any single officer, and proportional representation for election of members to the legislature.

That the people are overwhelmingly in favor of Direct-Legislation and the direct primary is the general consensus of opinion, but that, as the *Portland Journal* observes, "subterfuge, deception and the methods known to deepest-dyed political trickery" will be resorted to, is equally certain. Moreover, the vast amount of money that will doubtless be placed at the disposal of the handy-men of the corporations and the political bosses will make formidable what would otherwise be an insignificant opposition.

That every paper that can be influenced, either by threat and coercion or by the numerous methods of persuasion in which the corporations and high financiers are past masters, will be whipped into line for the corporations, goes without saying.

Let the people of Oregon awake. The enemy is not merely the handful within the gates, but the great unprincipled and financially powerful horde that is destroying popular government throughout the Union; a relatively small but enormously rich band which acts in concert, is perfectly organized,

and whose control over the political boss and the money-controlled machine is practically complete; whose control over the press is far greater than is imagined; and whose influence over multitudinous other agencies for reaching and misleading the people is only second to its grip on the press.

#### To American Patriots.

The above facts merely hint at the gravity of the situation that confronts our people, and the situation is rendered doubly serious from the fact that the friends of freedom are but poorly organized, and they have not at their command the finances to meet the enemy with a proper campaign of education. All to-day that is needed is a sufficient amount of money to properly sow every state with literature and in certain quarters to place efficient organizers in the field to bring together patriotic citizens and awaken the masses to the peril of the present. We

believe that only by prompt action will it be possible to avert the complete mastership of the machine by the law-defying and oppressive corporations. But by prompt action on the part of patriots the government may early be rescued from this deadliest of perils and the cause of democracy be given an impregnable position. A great national league should be formed, and men of means who possess a particle of the spirit that made heroes of the men of Valley Forge should contribute to a propaganda fund and to the expense of placing one or two efficient organizers in the field.

Friends of justice and human rights and lovers of freedom with peace, or a steady and peacefully-evolving democracy, we appeal to you to awake, unite, organize, and inaugurate an educational propaganda for rousing the people to the true situation and showing them how peacefully to emancipate themselves from corruption and oppression.

### THE CHURCH, PRIVILEGED WEALTH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.

#### The Clergy and The Battle for Civic Righteousness.

REFORMERS frequently and with just cause regard the clergy, especially of the great churches in our cities, as either allies of privileged wealth or as too timid to be a positive factor in the mighty battle of popular government and social justice against entrenched privilege and incorporated greed.

The position of the minister, especially in the great metropolitan churches, is particularly trying if he is a man of God with the instincts of a prophet of righteousness, instead of a self-seeking opportunist; for the bribes given to the churches, missionary societies and religious colleges by the law-breakers have long since produced a deadly effect on the conscience of the churches, and in the cities almost every wealthy congregation has among its pew-holders liberal contributors who are the beneficiaries of acquired but unearned wealth or are master spirits in corporations whose methods are immoral and frequently frankly lawless. For the minister of such a church to stand for social justice and equality of opportunities and of rights, is to place his bread and butter in jeopardy,

for there is no class of persons so intolerant of the truth as those who wish to pose as highly respectable pillars of church and society while continuing to be the beneficiaries of wealth gained by indirection, by immoral acts, injustice and often by evasion or defiance of law. The minister who will prophecy smooth things and berate the Pharisees of two thousand years ago becomes very popular, but the fearless and incorruptible prophet of God who insists on following in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene soon finds himself *non persona grata* with the men whose wealth is depended on to pay the clergyman's salary. Under these conditions the position of the minister is exceedingly trying, and perhaps, considering the frailty of human nature, it is not especially astonishing that there are so many men who in the presence of social wrongs and moral corruption which are eating out the life of free institutions, are afraid to cry aloud and spare not.

There are to-day, however, as there have ever been, here and there strong, brave and splendid souls who are holding aloft the torch of justice and human rights and who display the same superb moral courage that lifted the

Great Nazarene so high above the religious leaders of his day.

Nothing affords us more pleasure than to be able to note the ranging of great divines on the side of morality, justice, law and human rights. We have felt it our unpleasant duty on several occasions to strongly criticize clergymen who are so lost to the teachings and spirit of the Great Nazarene and so beholden to political bosses and corrupt corporation interests that they affront the public with shameful defences of men and practices that have justly aroused the righteous indignation of lovers of civic morality and justice from ocean to ocean. We believe that the Christian church has suffered far less from all the attacks of those who have openly assailed her during recent years than she has from the public addresses and printed utterances during the past twelve months of such men as the Rev. Henry A. Buchtel, who is the present governor of Colorado by grace of the malodorous Boss Evans and the associated villainies or corporate interests of that state, and Chancellor Day of the Syracuse University, who has been aptly termed the Standard Oil's Man Friday. Mr. Buchtel as a eulogist of Guggenheim and Evans, and Chancellor Day as a defender of the lawless Standard Oil Company, are, in our judgment, not only master influences in discrediting Christianity with friends of pure government, of law and order, but in so far as they influence other minds, they necessarily foster low political, civic and business ideals by being the champions of men and interests they defend.

Happily for the church and for public morality, there are evidences of a general awakening on the part of leading clergymen to the importance of boldly imitating the great Founder of Christianity, who in the presence of the gamblers and money-changers in the Temple, denounced the corrupt order and drove those who sought to make the Temple a source of gain, from its sacred precincts. In America and in the Old World there are unmistakable signs of a spiritual awakening on the part of the clergy, and it is especially hopeful to note that even in such cities as New York and London, the prophet voices are ringing clear and strong. A notable case in point is that of the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Church of the Messiah, the strongest Unitarian church in New York City.

#### **A Leading Metropolitan Clergyman's Brave Stand for Pure Government.**

Late in January Mr. Holmes delivered a plain talk before the Unitarian Club of New York City. The *Sun*, one of the most efficient watch-dogs of Wall-Street interests, made his remarks the subject of a satirical editorial, to which Mr. Holmes replied in a letter marked by superb moral courage and revealing the possession of a clear mental concept of fundamental economic and political problems and practical remedies for the same rarely found in the pulpit. So fine and true are his words that we quote a large part of his letter, not only because of the truths it contains, but to show that to-day in the great money-mad metropolis at least one pastor of a rich and powerful church dares to speak living truths in a manner worthy of the great prophets of olden times.

"You say: 'He stated there were two or three men who owned the street railways of New York and were robbing the people of the right to adequate and decent transportation.' (You omitted the two adjectives 'adequate' and 'decent,' but never mind!) 'He did not mention the names of these gentlemen,' you continue in your report, 'although he declared that their doings ought to be denounced in the pulpit.' That is exactly what I said. I regard the history of the street railways of New York as one of the foulest scandals that ever polluted the record of a city's life. A gang of thoroughly unscrupulous men, under the shelter of a public franchise, has swooped down upon this city and plundered it, just as a band of pirates, under such freebooters as Morgan and Blackbeard, used in the old days to descend upon a helpless merchantman and strip her from stem to stern. These men, when all euphemistic terms have been cast aside, are thieves; and their deeds constitute, from the moral point of view, nothing but open robbery! And yet you ridicule me for asserting that the men guilty of these misdeeds should be denounced in Christian pulpits! Where, I may ask in the name of that God whom I have been taught to worship as a God of justice, should these men be denounced if not in Christian pulpits? I am so misguided as to think that that is just the place; and I have therefore denounced them freely in my pulpit at the Church of the Messiah in the past, and I shall continue to denounce them and all men like them in

the future. I should consider myself recreant to my trust as a Christian minister did I keep silence in the face of such iniquity. You say that I did not give the names of these gentlemen in my address. You are again right—I did not! It was hardly necessary, since my audience consisted of men and women of average intelligence, who occasionally read the newspapers!

"Again you say: 'He informed his hearers that there was a small group of persons in complete control of the coal mines. He called these mines "our mines," although he did not disclose the basis of the public claim to ownership in which he evidently thought he had a share. Our impression was that the coal lands had been actually purchased and paid for by private and corporate owners, who had the same right to sell the products thereof as the farmer has to sell his milk.' Here again you are entirely accurate in your report of my remarks. I am of course perfectly well aware of the fact, to which you think it necessary to call my attention, that 'these coal mines had been actually purchased and paid for by private and corporate owners,' and hence, in the strictly legal sense, are the property of these private and corporate owners and not 'our' property. But I believe, sir, in all humility, although this will undoubtedly sound strange to your ears, that there is one standpoint, which at all times, and under all conditions, transcends the merely legal standpoint, and that is the moral standpoint! And it was strictly from this moral standpoint that I was speaking on Wednesday night. I am one of those—possibly misguided—persons who believe that there are certain things which society has no moral right to hand over to the tender mercies of private individuals, and that among these things are coal mines, oil lands, forest tracts, public franchises of all kinds, whether railroad, telegraph or gas franchises, and so on. I regard it as an unspeakable iniquity that the supply of coal for our Eastern States should be in the hands of 'divine right' Baer and his associates and that the public should be held up every winter by these money-crazed men and forced to 'pay the price.' There are certain things which belong of right not to any individual, however rich or powerful he may be, but to society at large; and no statute law of any kind can annul this inalienable social right. It was in this sense of course that I spoke of the mines as 'ours.'

My attitude toward the private ownership of all public necessities and utilities is exactly that of the old anti-slavery leaders toward the private ownership of slaves. The slaves 'had been actually purchased and paid for by private owners,' as you say the mines have been. But this did not alter the fact that from the moral point of view no white man had any right to own a black man. And just as that fact is universally admitted to-day and all property rights in black men are permanently abolished, so is the time surely coming when the moral wrong of having public necessities and public utilities in private hands for the exploitation of the many by the few will be recognized and all property rights in mines, forests, railroads, etc., be abolished. This is the great problem of our day, just as the abolition of slavery was the great problem of half a century and more ago. And just as it remains an everlasting blot upon the record of the Christian churches of America that they assumed an attitude of indifference and oftentimes hostility toward this great crusade for the liberties of a race, so is it to-day a burning shame that the churches as a whole are standing indifferent and oftentimes hostile to the present crusade for the emancipation of an entire people. You were never wiser than when you said in your editorial, 'The right way is to act—in the living present.' That is exactly what some of us are trying to do in our humble way as regards the social and industrial iniquities of our time, even though we offend now and then those men and newspapers who would prefer to have everybody remain inert and quiescent, that existing conditions may know no alteration.

"In closing may I thank you for including me among 'some dissatisfied clergymen'? I am dissatisfied—dissatisfied at the hideous social conditions of our day and generation and dissatisfied at the spectacle of the Church of Christ standing deaf, dumb and blind before it all. A few more dissatisfied clergymen and we might be a bit nearer the realization of that Kingdom of God which Jesus of Nazareth endeavored to establish upon the earth, if I remember rightly something like two thousand years ago!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Church of the Messiah, Park Avenue and  
Thirty-fourth Street.

New York, January 27.



**Mr. Holmes' Plea for The Child Slaves of America.**

Mr. Holmes' aggressive stand for Christian morality suggests the splendid spirit of the old prophets of Israel, whose outspoken words are an inspiration to-day, even as they were when uttered thousands of years ago. His is the same spirit as that of Martin Luther when the corruption and opportunism of the church led him to brave the greatest organized power of Western civilization; the spirit of Wesley when he fired the imagination of the people of England at a time when the church was slumbering and materialism had paralyzed the moral energies of society; the spirit of Channing and Parker in the presence of African slavery.

On February 9th Mr. Holmes raised his voice against child labor in a powerful sermon on "The Bitter Cry of the Children." For this service also the clergyman composed the following hymn embodying the prayer of the workers for the deliverance of the children from the Moloch of present-day sordid greed:

"O God, whose justice is a rod  
That smites our human greed,  
Whose mercy is a healing balm  
For hearts that break and bleed;  
We cry to thee, O Lord, for strength  
To right the wrongs of earth,  
To lift the yokes, to break the bonds,  
That make a curse of birth.

"We pray for all thy little ones,  
Who toil in mine and mill,  
Whose bitter cries of agony  
No clanking wheels can still;  
Whose eyes peer blind in rooms of night,  
By sunlight rays unlit;  
Who choke and sob in poisoned dust  
Of factory and pit.

"O Father, are these children thine  
All bent and scarred and maimed,  
With little hands all gnarled and torn,  
With feet all bruised and lamed;  
With lips that never frame a smile,  
With cheeks seared deep with pain,  
With eyes bedimmed and swollen red  
By tears that fall like rain?

"These little ones, our Father, thine—  
Who never play and sing,  
Who ne'er with shouts of gladsome mirth  
Make woods and pastures ring;  
Who know all manhood's toil and grief,  
E'er manhood's strength is won,  
Who taste the bitterness of life,  
When life is scarce begun?

"O Lord, lay bare thy mighty arm,  
Unloose thy vengeance' flood,  
Smite with thy wrath the lustful greed  
That feeds on children's blood;

And in thy mercy, from their bonds  
These little ones release,  
And give them air and sun and play,  
And love and joy and peace.

**The Bishop of London on Dives and Lazarus.**

From this impressive example of a true follower of the Great Nazarene, battling for civic morality and justice for the weak, we turn to a different picture—the spectacle of a distinguished English churchman viewing the misery of the victims of social injustice from a very comfortable vantage ground.

The Bishop of London has recently visited the United States as the guest of J. Pierpont Morgan of secret-bond deal and ship-trust fame. Mr. Morgan, as is his wont when entertaining notables, treated the good bishop right royally and gave him the opportunity of studying American life and problems from the vantage-ground of the great financier's touring car. He was also given the use of a Roman Catholic millionaire railroad president's palatial private car, that he might travel luxuriously and be enabled to see what royal good hosts are the great chiefs of the industrial autocracy and high finance of America.

That the man of God was duly impressed is indicated by a recent article which appeared in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. Naturally enough, in the presence of so much great wealth and being treated with the consideration of a prince of the church by the great predatory chiefs of Wall-Street finance, the bishop could not escape instituting some comparisons between these exploiters and the millions of exploited, and especially the seething masses who are struggling in the slough of extreme poverty. But the reverend gentleman does not believe in imitating the Great Nazarene in the presence of the Pharisees of our day. It would certainly be in bad form to say anything that would hurt the feelings of the high financier and the multi-millionaire railway magnate; so instead of turning to the great prophets and seers of the ages who have been the pioneers of righteousness and way-showers of social justice, the bishop, good soul, elects to be a prophet of smooth things. Doubtless he regards as in bad taste his Lord and Master's treatment of those who compassed land and sea for proselytes, who made long prayers and enlarged their phylacteries, who builded synagogues and were great sticklers for the

forms and rites of a theology from which the soul had fled, while all the time they were devouring widows' houses and for a pretense making long prayers. Far different from the spirit and tenor of the Master's "woes" are the words uttered by the Bishop of London. They will in no wise hurt the sensitive feelings of the financiers and corporation magnates to whom the bishop is beholden for the courtesies bestowed. In the presence of the vast wealth of the exploiting Wall-Street financiers and beneficiaries of special privileges, the pious divine says:

"Have you ever thought why there are rich and poor at all? That is a question you often muse on in your crowded American cities, one I often have to face in London. I reconcile my belief in God and his love for the wretched millions on the East Side of New York, in East London and other great cities, teeming millions of the unfortunate seemingly abandoned by both God and men, with this: The rich minority have in trust for all others."

After reading the above, does any sane man wonder that the churches are being emptied of the thoughtful wealth-creators. Think for a moment of the kind of men who are to-day the custodians, largely through devious methods and indirection, of the great wealth of this country. Think of the long train of crime and lawlessness following in the wake of many of their careers. Think of their merciless oppression of the masses, their corruption of legislators, their exploitation of the people, their gambling with loaded dice. Think of John D. Rockefeller, Henry H. Rogers, John D. Archbold; the McCalls, the McCurdys. Think of Thomas F. Ryan, who presumably is the millionaire Catholic railroad magnate of whom the bishop speaks; and lastly, think of J. Pierpont Morgan and the secret bond deal and ship-trust scandals. Think of the recent exposures of the multi-millionaire custodians of the great wealth of the nation as brought out under sworn testimony in the various investigations of insurance companies, railways and other public-service corporations, oil, beef and other merciless trusts. Think of these men and their works, and then revert to the bishop's words and try to imagine them as the Almighty's trustees for the dispensing of charity for the poor. Could it be possible to conceive of anything more blasphemous than is necessarily implied by the good

bishop's words? And our virtuous prelate next comes forward with a remedial suggestion. He says:

"I would propose an international competition between New York and London in the matter of looking after the poor."

The editor of the *New York Journal* very ably suggests that it is not the soup-house and the free distribution of woolen jackets that will solve the problem, but that if the pious man "could arrange a way to make the 'rich minority,' with its special privileges, get off the backs of the poor people, it would be quite simple to attend to the rest."

And here is the heart of the whole matter. It is justice, simple justice, and not charity that the world's workers demand. The intelligence of the age is too great to be longer misled by such absurd twaddle as the bishop indulges in; for the people know that the abnormal fortunes with us are, as a rule, largely, when not chiefly due to indirection, to special privileges, to gambling with stacked cards, to law-evasion, law-breaking and corrupt practices. The revelations of the last ten years have awakened the American people to a realization of the real situation and have made perfectly clear the character of the great predatory chiefs and high financiers of America—so clear, indeed, that the people are in no danger of laying any stress on the bishop's pleasing theory of our rich men being the representatives of the Almighty—His favored trustees.

#### The Rev. R. J. Campbell on Christ's Attitude in Regard to Social Righteousness.

■ Happily for the cause of true religion, as we have before observed, there are great divines who are bravely treading in the pathway of the Founder of Christianity and holding aloft the torch of social righteousness. In striking contrast to the pitiful twaddle of the Bishop of London, we have just noticed the splendid stand of the gifted minister of the Church of the Messiah of New York. Equally strong and clear are the words of the Rev. R. J. Campbell, the distinguished and eloquent minister of the City Temple of London, which have recently been given to the public in a new volume of *Christianity and the Social Order*. In this work the author in speaking of Jesus' attitude toward great material riches or gain and the rich and powerful Pharisees, says:

"Observing, also, as He could not fail to do, the corrupting influence of the possession of wealth upon the moral nature Jesus condemned utterly the desire for its acquisition.

"He does not say that the possession of riches is an absolute disqualification for membership in the coming Kingdom, but he holds that at best they are a hindrance, for they tend to put a barrier of separation between man and man; the ideal social order would therefore be one in which there would be no question either of poverty or riches. Moreover, Jesus is severe upon the typical rich man, for, not without reason, He saw in him the oppressor of the poor. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus He does not specify any particular offence of which the rich man had been guilty, but He sends him to Hades (Luke 16: 19-31).

"He declared it to be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. His general attitude on this point was not modified in the least by the fact that He had one or two rich adherents, such as Joseph of Arimathea. These were exceptions; there is only too much probability that the strictures of Jesus upon the holders of wealth were more than justified at the time.

"But it was upon the covetous and grasping religious aristocracy that His denunciations fell most heavily. In all the literature of invective I know nothing more scathing than His attack on this order as recorded in Matthew 23."

Mr. Campbell quotes some of Christ's more terrible denunciations of the rich, powerful, self-righteous and corrupt Pharisees, and then adds:

"Strong language this! One wonders what the religious press of this country would say about it nowadays. For the people thus denounced have their representatives in the Christian churches of this much-favored land of ours. But what chiefly impresses me about the use of this language is that it gives us an entirely different idea of Jesus from that which is usually held up for Christian adoration and imitation. Here was a being aflame with sympathy for the masses

and indignation for their oppressors. It is no use saying that He was not alive to the social wrongs of the age, for He was, and and this language proves it. It shows what brought Him to His death; it shows, too, why the orthodox hated and feared Him. Not that he pandered to the multitude; He never did that. But with His whole soul He loathed the self-complacency of the ordinary religionists who were content to be on the side of privilege without lifting a finger to help the unprivileged, and yet talked about righteousness! What would Jesus say if He were to appear in our midst again to-day? Can there be much doubt about the matter? Are we still doing the same thing—talking about righteousness as though it could be separated from social justice? Of course we are, and the hollow sham will have to come to an end."

It is refreshing indeed to find strong, fine, noble and brave clergymen like Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Rev. R. J. Campbell daring to follow in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene, in spite of the frowns and denunciations of the rich men who are so comfortably riding on the backs of the people and who find such men as Chancellor Day, Rev. Dr. Buchtel and the Bishop of London most useful.

And speaking of the great toiling millions who are carrying the privileged ones on their backs, some questions naturally suggest themselves: Who pays for the palatial private car and its cost of maintenance, which presumably, Mr. Ryan placed at the service of the good bishop? Who, indeed, but the wealth-creators of America? How many autos could Mr. Morgan buy out of the millions he acquired through the Cleveland secret-bond deal—millions more than he could have acquired had the public been permitted to bid for the bonds, as was advocated by the great New York papers, such as the *Herald* and *World*?

These are questions the bishop evidently did not consider, and quite probably they are questions he would not be willing to entertain. But happily these and kindred questions are being very seriously considered at the present time by the American people.

## WAS ABRAHAM LINCOLN A PARTY MAN?

### Secretary Taft's Misrepresentation of The Martyred President.

IN RECENT years one of the most efficient weapons of the corrupt bosses and the privilege-seeking trusts and monopolies who stand behind, has been the fetich of party regularity. The privilege-seeking corruptionists, intent on looting a community by securing franchises worth millions upon millions of dollars, make a secret arrangement with corrupt bosses of one or both of the dominant parties for the favors desired. These bosses see that men who are either the handy-men of the "interests" or who are absolutely subservient to the bosses are nominated, or at least a sufficient number nominated and elected to give them a control in the legislative bodies. When decent citizens, outraged at the corruption and brazen defiance of the public interests on the part of the legislators and city officials, threaten to bolt, the party organs immediately raise the cry of party regularity, and prominent politicians, like Secretaries Root and Taft, rush to the front in defence of this fetich. They sneer at sincere reformers and by such phrases as "parlor socialists" seek to discredit high-minded upholders of genuine democratic or republican government. Sometimes these sophists, presuming on the ignorance of or blind, unreasoning acceptance on the part of the people of anything that the leaders may utter, claim as upholders of the fetich of party regularity men whose lives no less than their utterances brand such statements as inexcusably unwarranted and false.

A notable example of this kind of attempt to mislead the people on the assumption of their ignorance, was offered by Secretary Taft in his Lincoln Day address in Michigan, when he strove to make out that Lincoln was, first of all, a party man and, had he lived, he would have docilely tramped along the tortuous pathway made by the elephant in recent years as it followed the provender held out by Wall-Street high financiers and the corporation chiefs, stopping to turn aside only now and then when its masters and providers were willing that it should play hide and seek in order to divert and deceive the people.

"Mr. Taft," says the Springfield Republican, "strove gallantly to make it appear that Lincoln would have approved not only the distinguishing policies of the present Administration, but of the preceding one; and it would follow with equal logic that Lincoln would have approved everything that the Republican party had done since his death."

As a matter of fact, as the Republican points out, the party record during the Reconstruction period, was entirely at variance with the wise and broad statesmanship of Lincoln. On this point it observes:

"So far as Lincoln left his impress upon public policy, the indications are that he must have opposed the congressional plan of reconstruction. Lincoln's plan of restoring to the Union the States of the Confederacy was flatly opposed to the plan later forced into operation by the congressional Republican leaders; and this fact alone renders decidedly inept the hypothesis that all of the distinguishing features of Republican policies from his death to the present hour would have surely commanded Lincoln's enthusiastic approval. If there is anything that both South and North have lamented, among the direful consequences of his assassination, it is the loss of his great influence for moderation, conciliation and sanity in dealing with the Southern question in its new and most menacing social and political aspect after a military conquest."

No one can study Lincoln's political life, and, indeed, the whole tenor of his life from boyhood till the hour of his untimely taking off, and escape the conclusion that the alliance of the Republican party since the days of Mark Hanna's ascendancy, with the Wall-Street high financiers and the captains of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the corrupt bosses of the money-controlled machine, would have unutterably been abhorrent to him, and that he would have been first and foremost in denunciation of courses such as that of Messrs. Hanna and Cortelyou in obtaining vast contributions for political campaigns from corporation chiefs and high



financiers whose interests were diametrically opposed to those of the people and whose money had been the most corrupting and sinister influence in present-day politics.

#### **Lincoln's Arraignment of Party Subserviency.**

Coming down, however, to Mr. Taft's specific claim as a worshiper at the fetich of party regularity, happily for the memory of the great American Commoner no less than for the cause of good government, we have an explicit statement on party subserviency that constitutes a most complete refutation of Secretary Taft's calumny.

In 1856 Mr. Lincoln, in denouncing the party subserviency of the Democratic party, which at that time occupied a position in government very similar to that of the Republican party to-day, and which was then seeking, even as Secretary Taft and his party bosses are now seeking, to hold the masses by the shibboleth of party regularity, said:

"The party lash and the fear of ridicule will overawe justice and liberty, for it is a singular fact, but none the less a fact, and well known by the most common experience, that men will do things under the terror of the party lash that they would not, on any account or for any con-

sideration, do otherwise. . . . Orders came from Washington commanding an approval of the measure; the party lash was applied, and it was brought up again in caucus and passed by a large majority. . . . Here is where the greatest danger lies—that, while we profess to be a government of laws and reason, law will give way to violence on demand of this awful and crushing power."

Mr. Taft's attempt to misrepresent the great Commoner and friend of all the oppressed or victims of injustice, is characteristic of present-day opportunist politicians whose mental ability is not companioned by conscientious scruples. These men twist and turn things to the advantage of their cause, without any due regard to the verities involved. Mr. Taft in his famous injunction ruling against organized labor, when he was a Federal judge, insured the eternal gratitude of the great railway magnates by reading into a statute a meaning never dreamed of by the framers of the statute or other statesmen. This exhibition of ingenuity and vicious sophistry is only one of several that might be cited from his political record which are on a par with his misrepresentation of President Lincoln, and which have marked him as a man generous in fair words for the people and prodigal in fair deeds for plutocracy and party machinery.

### **[RENEWED ACTIVITY] OF [THE] MODERN DICK TURPINS.**

#### **The Recent Raise in Express Rates by The American and National Express Companies.**

**T**HE RECENT raise in the express rates made by the American and National Express Companies means the confiscation of millions more dollars from the American wealth-creators by these irresponsible privileged monopolies whose avarice is only bounded by their ability to extort money from the people. The advance in the tariff rates for these two companies raises the minimum rate from fifteen cents to twenty-five cents per package.

We have long had occasion to send a number of packages, six or eight a month, to one of the suburbs that fringe Boston which is reached only by the National Express Com-

pany. The rate in the past has been fifteen cents per package. Now the minimum rate is twenty-five cents per package. This means an increase of from sixty to eighty cents a month on the personal packages which we send to this suburb. At the minimum amount, six packages, this means an increase of over seven dollars a year in tariff. We cite this illustration merely to show what this enormous increase in rate means.

It will require no special imagination on the part of the reader to realize the enormous aggregate of increased wealth that this arbitrary raise in rates will bring into the coffers of the two corporations in question. Millions upon millions of dollars will thus be extracted within the next twelve months from the pockets of the American wealth-producers

and consumers, at a time when business is depressed, when labor is seeking work, and when all enterprises not enjoying special privileges are suffering as a result of the recent Wall-Street gamblers' panic. It is needless to say that this additional levy of millions upon millions of dollars from the American people would not have been possible had we been enjoying a parcels post—something which England has long enjoyed, something which almost all the enlightened and liberal nations of earth enjoy; and the American people would long ago have been in the enjoyment of this right had it not been for the power which the great express companies and their confederates, the railways, have been able to exert in government, partly by keeping their handy-men in office, and partly by influencing legislators in other ways. So long as United States Senators and Congressmen are permitted to accept bribes from the express companies in the way of free transportation for everything they wish to send, the American people will continue to be robbed by these predatory bands and to be deprived of the advantages which other civilized nations have long enjoyed through more efficient postal service.

More than this: with every raise such as has just been made, the companies will be enabled to set aside vast sums of money to pay for lawyers who are ever ready to prostitute their mental power for the service of the enemies of the Republic and the people in general, and for newspapers and handy-men in government; while a further sum can be easily added to the campaign contributions for debauching the electorate and destroying free and just government.

The people can have little hope for relief, for clean government or just and efficient government, so long as heavy stockholders, political bosses and the handy-men of public-service corporations are found in the United States and Congress—men like Platt and Depew, Lodge and Crane, Bailey and Penrose.

How much longer are the American people going to tolerate this pauperizing of the millions for the abnormal enrichment of the few and this corrupting and destroying of free government by princely campaign contributions, by systematic upholding of unscrupulous bosses, and by various forms of bribery, such as free transportation and free express service, as well as legal retainers given to statesmen whose oath is given for the

carrying forward of the interests of the people, but whose vote is always found on the side of privileged wealth in the people's struggle for its abolition?

#### **Twenty-Four Millions to Stockholders of a Single Express Company.**

In this connection we invite the attention of our readers to the following article from *Postal Progress*, the organ of the Postal Progress League, in its issue of last July.

The article appears under the heading, "Two Hundred Per Cent. Dividend. Adams Express Stockholders to Get Twenty-four Millions in Four Per Cent. Bonds."

"This announcement, so interesting to the stockholders of the Adams Express Company, is yet more interesting to the human live stock, or, if you please, bondsmen—men, women and children—whose earnings to the amount of \$24,000,000, are to be taken for the conversion of these Twenty-four million dollars of paper bonds into gold.

"In the determination of this enormous highway tax, the taxpayers have had no share. It represents no service rendered them in the past or to be rendered them in the future. It is simply a repetition of the old highwayman's demand: 'Stand and Deliver. Your Money or Your Life.'

"Happily, however, there is a possible escape from these modern highwaymen. The American Public have a Post Office. It has been in existence for over a hundred years and since 1863 these have been its characteristics:

"Rates determined by the representatives of the ratepayers in Congress assembled.

"Rates regardless of distance.

"Rates regardless of the volume of business.

"Rates regardless of the character of the matter transported.

"Up to the limits of the modern Post Office there are no possible discriminations either as to persons, places or things. Up to the limits of its service the humblest citizen on the most out-of-the-way rural route in this republic has the guarantee of the National Government that he shall get his supplies and send off his produce at the same uniform rate as the biggest corporation in our greatest metropolis. For over forty years the Post Office has been engaged in the handling of merchandise and to-day on one class of merchandise, magazines and newspapers sent out by publishers and news-

dealers, its rates are but one cent a pound and this on packets unlimited by law either as to their bulk or their weight. What the Post Office is now doing for the publishers, that it can do for the rest of us.

"The end of the Post Office is public Service.

"The End of the Express Company is Public Plunder.

"The proper response to this Express decree of public plunder will be a public demand for the assumption of the entire express business by the public-service Post Office."

## MR. BRYAN AND THE SENEGAMBIAN IN THE NEW YORK WORLD'S WOODPILE.

MR. BRYAN seems to have Mr. Pulitzer on the hip. We have noticed that almost invariably where a person is found opposing public ownership of natural monopolies, he is generally either directly a beneficiary of the general spoliation of the public for the enrichment of the few, or is in the employ of the spoilers or in other ways beholden to corporate interests, so that his first allegiance is not to the public weal.

The *World* and its co-partners who pushed forward the plutocratic program four years ago, who was so successful not only in securing the nomination of the *World's* candidate, but also the overwhelming wreck or defeat of the Democratic party, are now, apparently encouraged by their success four years ago, again busily engaged in the same work. They are trying to divide and paralyze the Democratic party so as to prevent the election of any man who would carry forward radical reform measures in the interests of the public weal and to prevent the further exploitation of the people by the criminal rich. The obvious plan is, first, to divide the Jeffersonian or progressive Democrats so as to prevent them from concentrating on Mr. Bryan. Then, if it is found impossible for the plutocracy to nominate one of its own faithful handy-men, an effort would be made to center on some other Democrat who would not be objectionable to the corporate interests and who could be depended upon not to wage aggressive warfare in the interests of the people.

The *World* is again leading the campaign for the distraction and division of the Democratic party, and as the first move in its campaign at the present time, as it was before, is an effort to discredit Mr. Bryan. Hence its vicious, persistent and shamefully unjust

misrepresentations of the great Commoner.

The feudalism of privileged wealth and the criminal rich of Wall Street are thoroughly alarmed. They know that the people are aroused and are in no mood to be trifled with. They fear the election of some incorruptible statesman who will be loyal to the interests of the people, and they feel it to be of paramount importance to paralyze the power of the Democratic party. No paper in America is doing more efficient work in this direction than the *New York World*. In *The Commoner* for January 10th, Mr. Bryan made a reference to "the *New York World* and the special interests it represents." Immediately the *World* sent the following telegram to Mr. Bryan:

"New York, January 10.—Hon. W. J. Bryan, Lincoln, Nebraska: Always eager to print all the news the *World* respectfully invites and urges you to furnish it with the list of special interests you say in *The Commoner* it represents. Any answer you may send is prepaid *World*."

Mr. Bryan called the *World's* bluff in the following reply:

"January 11, 1908.—*New York World*, New York City, N. Y.: Your telegram asking me to name the special interests your paper represents received. I understand Mr. Joseph Pulitzer is practically sole owner of the *World* and as railroad regulation and the elimination of private monopolies are pending issues I can answer your inquiry more fully if the *World* will state editorially what pecuniary interest, if any, Mr. Pulitzer or the *World* has in railroad stocks or bonds and what in corporations commonly known as trusts.  
W. J. BRYAN."

Although from the *World's* telegram it was intimated that Mr. Bryan's letter would be given the publicity the *World* prates so much about, the dispatch was not allowed to meet the eyes of the *World's* readers.

On February 4th Mr. Bryan was in New York, and the editor of the *World* sent a reporter to interview him. He consented only on condition that his statement should be printed in full. This was finally agreed to and Mr. Bryan repeated the substance of his telegram, insisting that if Mr. Pulitzer was financially interested in stocks and bonds of railways and corporations generally known as trusts, his readers ought to know that fact when he assumes to advise the Democratic party. The *World* reporter then asked:

"Would ownership of railroad stocks or bonds disqualify any one from advising on public questions?"

And Mr. Bryan replied:

"His ownership of stocks and bonds of railroads or predatory corporations would not disqualify him for discussing questions, but if the public knows just what his financial interests are, it can better judge what weight to give to his editorials."

The *World* on February 6th dodged Mr. Bryan's question, and in a very Pulitzeresque manner sought to divert attention from the important question propounded by the Great Commoner, by asking a number of other questions. All it had to say in reply to Mr. Bryan's question about Mr. Pulitzer's holding of interests in public-service corporations and trusts was the following:

"In the midst of a campaign involving a question of democratic life or death, we cannot stop to bandy personalities with even so eminent and distinguished an opponent as he."

To this Mr. Bryan has the following to say in an editorial in *The Commoner* of February 14th:

"Mr. Bryan's statement concerning the relative unimportance of persons is just as true now as it was in 1896. Mr. Bryan well understands that the bitter attacks made upon him by the *New York World* are not due to any personal ill-will entertained for him by any one in authority in the *World's* office. Indeed in *The Commoner* editorial to which the *World* took exception this statement was made:

"The *New York World* is not a Democratic paper. Its advice to Democrats

cannot be relied upon. Its proprietor, nor its editors, has not the slightest reason for personal unfriendliness toward Mr. Bryan. Their antipathy to the editor of *The Commoner* lies deeper than anything of a personal character can go. The purpose of the *World* and the men who follow its leadership is not to build up the Democratic party nor to advance the public interests; it is rather to see to it that as a result of the election of 1908 the Democratic party shall not become the medium through which a long-suffering people shall find relief."

"When it was intimated that the *New York World* was more concerned in the special interests than in the Democratic party the *World* demanded to know what special interests the *World* spoke for. And then when Mr. Bryan replied that the public would be in better position to say where the heart of the *New York World* is if its owner would explain to the public the location of the *World's* treasure the *World* says that it 'cannot stop to bandy personalities' with Mr. Bryan!

"This is not a question of personalities. The *World* assumes to give advice to the Democratic party and to the American people as to the character of the policies they shall adopt and the sort of men they shall select for the administration of public affairs. The people to whom the *World* tenders advice have the right to be informed concerning the motives of Mr. Pulitzer's great newspaper. It has long been a mystery to many people who have admired the excellent work which the *New York World* has done against certain cliques bent upon the exploitation of local government in New York City and state why the *World* has been so sensible whenever effective railroad regulation was proposed and so strangely indifferent to great public evils involving certain other great concerns.

"In the absence of personal ill-will toward Mr. Bryan on the part of the *World*—as claimed by the *World* and admitted by Mr. Bryan—how may we account for the *World's* persistent misrepresentation of Mr. Bryan and its vindictive assaults upon him? Grant all that the *World* claims for itself in the way of devotion to the public interests and it must be admitted that the same high purpose that prompted it to rush to the defence of the public would restrain it from indulging



in deliberate misrepresentation of an individual.

"The mystery may be solved when the *World* shows the extent of its owner's financial interest in the great concerns from whose impositions the American people are seeking relief.

"If the owner of the *World* expects the American people to accept the advice which his paper is now giving in such abundance, if he expects the people to regard the *World's* present day activity in Democratic circles

as being due to its owner's extraordinary stock of patriotism, let Mr. Pulitzer show the people that so far as concerns investments in corporations that are to be regulated Mr. Pulitzer—the man who fixes the *World's* policy—is free from that pecuniary interest which, in common knowledge of human conduct, might reasonably be presumed to have a controlling effect upon his attitude.

"'Publicity! Publicity! Publicity!' That has for years been the Pulitzer cry. Let the light be turned upon the Pulitzer investments."

### NEW ZEALAND STILL FORGING AHEAD.

**N**EW Zealand under Prime Minister Ward is steadily carrying forward the splendid democratic program so successfully inaugurated by Minister Ballance and vigorously carried on by the late Richard Seddon; a program which at all times keeps as the master thought of the government the development, happiness and prosperity of all the people, through conditions that make for equality of opportunities and of rights.

Recently the New Zealand government has further amended her land laws with a view to reducing the evils of land monopoly and rendering the land as available as possible for actual settlers. The recently-enacted legislation makes it unlawful for any person to acquire an interest in any land beyond a total of five thousand acres for land of the third class; two thousand acres for land that comes under the head of what is known as the second class; and 640 acres for land in the first class.

Another important progressive economic enactment has been the setting aside of several millions of acres of the crown lands to provide money for popular education and old-age pensions.

If our government were a government of the people, by the people and for the people, instead of a government of Wall-Street high financiers, of corporation and trust magnates, through political bosses and party machines, for the enrichment of privileged classes and predatory bands, the American people would not to-day be the victims of plunderers who through watered stock and various other devices are extorting untold millions annually from the pockets of the wealth creators, by

extortionate charges made by railways, express companies, telegraph and telephone companies. This vast sum of money confiscated annually from the millions of wealth-creators and consumers by the prime corruptors of government and the irresponsible farmers of the people's wealth, would, if checked, greatly diminish the ever and rapidly-widening gulf between the wealth-creating millions and the great gamblers and monopolistic chiefs—the Harrimans, the Ryans, the Morgans and their ilk; while the reasonable and legitimate revenue yielded by the railway, telegraph, telephone and express companies, if installed by the government or taken over on a basis of fair valuation or valuation unincumbered by water, would supply above the cost for first-class service a sum that would go far toward securing an old-age pension for every industrious American who had faithfully toiled to create wealth and whose circumstances were not easy when he reached the limit of, say sixty-five years.

When will the American people awaken to the fact that the politicians and the editors and proprietors of newspapers which uphold the Wall-Street régime and bulwark the rapidly-growing lawless and arrogant oligarchy of privileged wealth are really the handy-men of the gamblers and high financiers who are working for their masters and against the interests of the people? When once the masses realize this, America will set her face toward just and free government, even as in the early nineties New Zealand set her face toward true democracy based on justice for all and the conservation of the best interests of each citizen.

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

A VERY conservative initiative and referendum bill was passed by the Ohio Senate, twenty-five to eleven, February 4th, providing for the submission of a constitutional amendment to the people. The amendment will apply only to statute law, permitting a ten per cent. initiative and a five per cent. referendum. At least sixty per cent. of the voters must vote upon any measure submitted in order for the result to be binding. A majority of votes cast decides. The Governor cannot veto but the legislature can repeal a measure upon which the people have voted. The bill is not satisfactory to the friends of direct-legislation, and the Lucas County Referendum League has formally protested against it. The objections to the bill are as follows:

"First—Subsequent legislatures may, without a referendum, repeal a law passed or enact a law defeated by referendum.

"Second—The courts may declare any law unconstitutional, but the people are given no power by means of suitable referendum to amend the constitution to meet their needs.

"Third—The greatest and most vital objection to the bill is that it requires sixty per cent. of all the votes cast at the election to be cast upon every referendum proposition. The effect of this will be that sixty per cent. of all the votes will have to be cast in favor of every proposition, because those opposed to any proposition will know enough not to vote at all."

The league recommends that the resolution be amended as follows:

"First—So as to forbid legislatures from annulling the result of a referendum without another referendum.

"Second—So as to permit constitutional amendments to be submitted after proper petition to cure the consequences of courts holding necessary laws unconstitutional.

"Third—That a referendum proposition be declared to be carried at an election at which it receives a majority of the entire

vote cast thereon, and in no case compelling such majority to exceed the number necessary to elect a majority of members to the legislature."

THE RESULT of the Michigan constitutional convention has not been very satisfactory to any but the corporate and corrupting interests of the state. The people wanted direct-legislation, home-rule and municipal ownership, and elected delegates who they had reason to believe would incorporate these provisions in the new constitution. A distinct majority of the delegates were specifically pledged to direct-legislation, but the lobbies did their work all too well, compromise after compromise was forced upon the faithful friends of majority-rule until the measure finally adopted is but the lifeless ghost of direct-legislation, and the people throughout the state are freely expressing their disgust with the measure. The fight was made on an effort to get the initiative on Constitutional Amendments. A ten per cent. petition was demanded, and the legislature is given power, even in the face of such a petition, to refuse to submit the initiated amendment to the people. It took the mysterious "changing" of four votes by the whiskey and fraudine lobby to finally force in this last provision, and so kill the measure. The farce will be written into the constitution, but the people know they have been "buncoed," and their desire for direct-legislation has been whetted by the fight.

IN NEVADA the bill for the arming of mercenaries in behalf of the mine-owners has become a law. January 29th it was signed by the Governor. But it is to be submitted to a vote of all the people of the state. This is one of the first results of Nevada's referendum system. Ten per cent. of the registered voters can call for a direct ballot, and the will of the majority will become the law of the land. The few men elected to the legislature are no longer the ruling power.

The wage-earners of Nevada are to be congratulated upon their right to appeal to the people's sense of justice.

OKLAHOMA still leads in the right direction. The Governor has appointed a committee of four Democrats and four Republicans with himself as chairman to travel over the country, visiting state after state with a view to inducing the state legislatures to join in the call for the submission to the people of an amendment to the United States constitution providing for the direct election of United States Senators. The salary of members of the commission is one dollar each, the state paying travelling expenses.

HON. L. A. UELAND, author of the North Dakota Constitutional Amendment, is doing good service on the lecture platform in that state. In preparing the people for their vote on that question at the coming election. The *Valley City Times-Record* says: "Could the people of North Dakota all hear Mr. Ueland's address, it would convert ninety per cent. of them to the cause of direct-legislation, the greatest question before the American people to-day."

CHARTER-REVISION is in the air in Boston. The exposure of municipal rottenness by the finance commission has made many citizens believe that the fundamental trouble was not with the personnel of the city government altogether, but largely with the system of government itself. The new Mayor has proposed a charter revision, against which the Central Labor Union has declared itself, because it contains no provision for direct legislation. The *Herald* is doing very creditable work in advertising the Des Moines charter.

THE Boston *Traveler* has petitioned the legislature to permit the people of that state to vote on an advisory referendum on the question, "Is it desirable that the present rates of tariff duty should be materially reduced, and that food, fuel and raw materials be put on the free list and that the Senators and Congressmen from Massachusetts be instructed to favor the passage of a bill for this purpose?" Of course there is not the ghost of a chance that the misrepresentative government will permit the people such an expression of the public opinion.

PETITIONS for the submission of two direct-legislation amendments to the charter of Seattle have been signed by the required fifteen per cent. of the voters. The first provides for the submission of an amendment providing for a municipal system of direct-legislation. The second is to require that the franchise ordinances be submitted to the people.

OVER two thousand signatures have been secured to petitions calling for a vote on charter amendments, providing for initiative and referendum clauses in the city charter of Seattle to be voted on March 3rd.

THE Initiative and Referendum League of Portland, Oregon, is conducting a "No seat, no fare" campaign against the street-car company of that city.

THE Illinois legislature has passed a direct-primary law applying to 686 elective offices.

MR. LEE F. LYBARGER of Philadelphia is doing great service for direct-legislation on the lecture platform.

A LARGE number of the citizens of Emporia, Virginia, have petitioned the legislature for changes in the charter, making the city officials more directly responsible to the voters.

THE Vermont Anti-Labor League has voted to demand the referendum of the question of Prohibition.

THE Ohio legislature has passed a bill referring to the people a constitutional amendment changing the basis of laying tax levies.

THE Republican Congressional Committee of Clarksburg, West Virginia, introduced an innovation in Republican politics February 10th by deciding that the nominee for Congress this year should be elected by popular vote at a primary election April 9th.

LINCOLN STEFFENS has published in the March *American Magazine* a most appreciative write-up of U'Ren of Oregon, the father of the referendum in America.

MRS. ELLEN H. E. PRICE of Swarthmore

College made a notable address before the Philadelphia Women's Suffrage Society January 30th in which she made a most effective argument for people's rule.

THE PEOPLE of Pittsburg take a referendum vote April 11th on a large bonding proposition for a new city hall.

THE Farmers' Unions of Oklahoma are demanding that the legislature submit to a referendum vote the question whether the state school lands shall be sold. The members of the Unions pledge themselves to oppose the sale of the state's land in every possible way.

A NEW civil service reform anti-spoils system bill has been passed in New Jersey carrying a referendum clause for counties and municipalities.

TWO ASPECTS of the liquor question are likely to be submitted to popular vote at the coming spring election in Chicago. The liquor men want an "advisory referendum" to test public sentiment on the matter of Sunday closing, and the temperance people want to avail themselves of the new local-option law to learn how many people in Chicago are willing to vote for no license. The results of both referendums will be more than interesting, for they will probably be obeyed and executed by ordinances. It requires a petition of twenty-five per cent. to put either question on the "little ballot."

THE More-Daylight Club of Detroit has asked the City Council for a referendum on the question of adopting Eastern Standard Time at the April election.

THE CITIZENS of River Forest, Illinois, voted on January 18th on a street-car ordinance providing for a five-cent fare to Chicago. The village trustees when they were elected to office promised to refer any traction ordinance to a referendum vote before passing it.

THE PEOPLE of Hackensack, New Jersey, voted in an election on a site for a proposed high school, February 14th.

APPLICATIONS from the legislatures of Iowa, Nevada and Wisconsin for a constitutional convention by which the election of

United States Senators by direct vote might be secured, were received at Washington January 20th.

WHAT the Atlanta *Constitution* calls an ideal illustration of the doctrine of referendum was furnished in a recent trip of the Governor and High School Board through every county of that state (Georgia). This board is to locate a high school in every county and appropriate \$2,000 a year for its support. The trip was made for the purpose of finding out what the people wanted.

A PETITION invoking the initiative in favor of extending the power of the Port of Portland Commission was signed by 2,351 voters and filed with the Oregon Secretary of State in time to get the questions on the ballot for the spring elections. Astoria also demands a vote on the question of spending money for river improvements.

WILKENSBURG and Bellevue, suburbs of Pittsburg, will vote on June 21st on the proposition of annexation.

EX-GOVERNOR GARVIN's bill for the constitutional initiative is again before the Rhode Island legislature for its annual frost.

THE California State Federation of Labor passed a resolution at its recent convention calling upon the legislature to submit to the voters an amendment to the Constitution providing for the initiative and referendum.

EX-SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY Leslie M. Shaw in criticism of Mr. Bryan says: "No wonder that the twice-defeated candidate for the Presidency favors the initiative and referendum. Under such a system we would have gone at one time to a limitless issue of irredeemable fiat money, and later to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Either would have wrought irreparable ruin. Truly a representative government is preferred to a pure democracy." This illustrates fairly the utter ignorance of the great majority of the public men on this question.

WE MAY as well note in passing that Mr. Hughes took particular pains to disown direct-legislation.

A BILL to submit state prohibition and



county dispensaries to the voters of South Carolina at a special election on July 14th has recently been passed by the legislature. The vote will determine whether state prohibition shall be substituted for the county dispensary law for which the state has for some time been famous.

THE PEOPLE of Batavia, New York, took a referendum vote on local improvements in March.

THE Charter-Revision Committee of Los Angeles is taking the Initiative and Referendum and Recall for granted. Direct-Legislation has worked so well in this progressive city that there is not the slightest chance of putting through a new charter without it.

THE FIGHT in Milwaukee over a municipal lighting plant comes near to being a continuous performance. With bids ready to be opened for the construction of a gas plant, the council has finally voted to submit an ordinance to the people in April establishing an electric-light plant also.

AN OREGON initiative bill bearing fourteen thousand signatures has been filed regulating the fishing operations on the Columbia River.

A BILL providing for a constitutional amendment establishing the Initiative and Referendum on the constitution, in statutes and in local affairs, was introduced in the Maryland Senate January 29th by Senator Campbell of Baltimore.

THE Kansas legislature has passed a new direct-primary law.

THE Iowa Supreme Court has upheld the Des Moines charter as constitutional in all particulars.

THE Massachusetts legislature gave its annual hearing to the friends of majority-rule. The constitutional amendment as usual received scant attention. The Public-Opinion bill, deprived of every vestige of radicalism, and "safeguarded" in every possible way, was supported by Representative Robert Luce and Robert Treat Paine, Jr., chairman of the League. The corporations' lobby, however, did not take the pains to appear against the bill, as the Speaker of the House, who is their own man, had stacked the committee against it.

TWO INTERESTING and valuable pamphlets have been prepared by Margaret A. Schaffner and issued by the Wisconsin library commission for the Legislative Reference Bureau, one of the most progressive and important of recent political institutions. These pamphlets are: The Recall, and the Initiative and Referendum. She first gives an outline of the methods of enactment and salient features of the Recall with a very comprehensive list of references, also a brief statement of the laws establishing it, the places where it is established, and the judicial decisions bearing upon it. The second gives a summary of the history of the Initiative and Referendum in this and other countries and a synopsis of the laws and judicial decisions. The legal and literary references in these pamphlets while naturally incomplete are of great value and the cause of purer democracy has been done a distinct service in these publications.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

## PUBLIC OWNERSHIP NEWS

BY BRUNO BECKHARD.

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### Municipal Lighting in St. Louis.

THE city of St. Louis, according to a recent report in the *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, is operating four small municipal electric-lighting plants, three of them with a capacity of about 800,000 kilowatt

hours per year. The fourth, used by the water department in its plants (also municipal) and to operate seven miles of municipal railway, has a very much larger capacity. Besides these four successful plants, two others are being installed. The fifth, which

is now operating in a small way pending further equipment, is located at the Industrial School, and will light, besides that institution, the workhouse and several stations of the fire department. One plant is located in the new city hall and lights that building, the old city hall, new Central District police station, four courts, court house, the jail and several engine houses. Another is located at the insane asylum (the only city institution of the kind in the country), and besides that building lights the poor house and female hospital (all immense buildings) and several engine houses. Another is located at the new city hospital, now comprising seven of a total of fourteen large buildings, which are eventually to constitute the institution, and also lights stations of the fire department. Police stations in different parts of the city are also lighted where convenient. The sixth plant is now being installed at the quarantine hospital, an extensive but isolated institution outside the city proper.

So successful has been the operation of the various small plants that agitation was started for a large plant to light the city streets and parks, with the result that \$140,000 a year has been ordered set aside to meet the expenses of building such a plant.

The city was practically driven to municipal ownership, for prior to 1901, the lighting company having a complete monopoly, the city was forced to pay for the lighting of all its public buildings at the rate of thirteen cents per kilowatt hour. An ordinance was prepared by the Board of Public improvements and passed by the assembly authorizing the construction of two plants, one at the new city hall and one at the insane asylum. The lighting company fought the measure in the assembly, but failing to stop it there, threatened to cut off the current at the expiration of its contract, allowing only three months in which to put the two plants into operation. This argument so impressed the mayor that he vetoed the ordinance. When the contract was let again, however, the lighting company came down in its price from 13 cents to 6½ cents. But when that contract had expired the company raised its price to 7½ cents. The municipal-ownership ordinance was reintroduced, passed in the assembly, signed by the mayor (the same that had vetoed it before) and the plants were put into operation in July, 1903. The following

contract with the lighting company for the other municipal buildings dropped the price to five cents, and in 1904 it again dropped, this time to 4½ cents, at which figure it still stands. The two city plants not only served to bring the lighting company to terms but proved a financial success, for they were able to make current at a cost of two cents per kilowatt hour. The city-hall plant, under Chief Engineer Joseph W. Wood, paid for itself in twenty-three months, the value of the current being rated at the competitive price of 4½ cents, besides which all additions and improvements to the plant were counted a expense and paid for as maintenance.

In the city-hall plant, Mr. Wood says, the total expense of 3.07 cents included running the boilers for heating the buildings, which before the plant for making light was installed, cost three times the present cost of light, or about two-thirds of the total present cost of operating the whole plant.

Total output of plant in kilowatts.....	808,132	
Value, at 4 1/2 (contract price) ..		\$36,415.90
Total expense of operating plant including heating plant in connection and current for elevators.....	\$21,877.66	
Interest and depreciation at 5 per cent. each.....	\$5,000.00	
Net earnings for year ending October 31, 1907.....		\$9,538.24

The expenses include three shifts of men at good salaries. The table shows a net earning, or in other words, a net saving, from the city-hall plant in one year, aggregating \$9,538.24, or more than one-fourth what the same amount of current would cost; not at the price the city would probably be paying for current had not the municipal plants been installed but at the price created by the competition of the municipal with the private plants. It is also unnecessary to charge the city five per cent. for the use of money which really belongs to the plant, the plant having, as stated, paid for itself two years ago, including repairs and betterments. The city is therefore paying itself \$25,000 a year for interest on the plant and the same amount for depreciation and betterments, both of the latter already taken up in the expense account. In that way the real net earnings would be \$14,538.24 even after counting the heating plant as part of the lighting expense as in the foregoing table. The interest is also unnecessarily high because the city has several million dollars on deposit in the banks

at three per cent., and is paying only 3.65 per cent. on its improvement bonds.

The following table leaves out the cost of operating the heating and ventilating systems, basing the estimate of their part of the expenses on their cost previous to the installation of the lighting plant:

Value of output at competitive price.....	\$36,415.90
Entire expense of generating current.....	\$6,762.98
Net earnings at same rate as contract.....	\$29,652.92
Interest and depreciation at 5 per cent. each.....	\$5,000.00
Net earnings less interest and depreciation.....	\$24,652.92

This table, which is based on accurate detailed records, shows the actual cost of current to be 1.445 cents per kilowatt hour. The net saving in one year, of \$29,652.92 is nearly five-sixths of the value of the current used.

#### **Not a Hypothetical Case.**

AT A RECENT election the citizens of Camden, New Jersey, expressed themselves in favor of a municipal lighting plant, although the vote is not binding on the council. The council has ordered the city engineer to prepare estimates of the cost of erecting a plant. Meanwhile the president of the "Public Service Corporation" asks the council to give him a new five years' contract. He now charges the city \$109.50 per arc light, but in the new contract he asks only \$80, and offers to supply lights for the rest of his present contract (more than a year) at the reduced figure. In other words the corporation can make a profit out of a contract whereby it furnishes light for 27 per cent. less than it is now charging the city. The difference in cost to the city for the lighting during the rest of the present contract alone is about \$27,000. Conversely, supposing that half of the population of Camden pays taxes, the present rate imposes an additional burden of over fifty cents per capita. Public-service corporations do not generally tell the city council quite so plainly that they, the corporation, have overcharged the city nearly thirty-seven per cent. Camden is fortunate in getting the facts at first hand.

#### **Income of English Cities.**

IN AN investigation by the British Government as to the sources of income of about 1,100 towns and cities it was found that 31 per cent. of the revenue came from the various enterprises owned by the municipi-

palities. In 1902 the taxes of the residents of these cities and towns were reduced by \$75,359,750. The public get better services for less money, and there are fewer private corporations to corrupt public officials. It makes some difference who asks: Is municipal ownership worth while?

#### **Webster City, Iowa**

WEBSTER CITY installed its own water works in 1880, and, finding this a success, has developed other branches of municipal activity. The water rates at present are twenty cents for residences and a scale as low as five cents for business purposes. The electric plant furnishes light and power at prices ranging from ten to five cents, at lower rates than any other city in the state. The rates in Omaha are a half as high again. The municipal heating plant supplies steam heat for most of the business section and some of the residence districts. The only franchise activity not in the hands of the city is the telephone exchange.

#### **Cincinnati's Railroads.**

CINCINNATI built and owns the Cincinnati Southern Railway. The road not only pays the annual interest, \$720,353, on its construction bonds, but also annual profits upwards of \$387,000. Of this latter sum, a large part goes to the City Sinking Fund and goes to pay off debts that would otherwise have to be met by taxation, while \$160,000 goes to redeem the railway bonds. If the present rate of redemption is maintained until 1950 the city will clear \$1,200,000 a year, and will by that time own absolutely and permanently an ever-increasingly valuable piece of property. In building the railway, moreover, the city found it possible to be more economical than either of the private corporations that own the two competing roads.

#### **Gloucester, Massachusetts.**

THE Water Commission of Gloucester has contracted for a \$1,500 building, to be used chiefly for the storage of the large amount of supplies which the department constantly has in stock. Part of the building will be used as a blacksmith shop, and part of it for a pipe shop where the cement lining of the service pipes can be done.

#### **Springfield, Ohio.**

THE REPORT of the Springfield water

works shows that the amount of water pumped last year averaged 4,048,716 gallons daily, an increase of two per cent. over the amount pumped the previous year. The coal consumption was 12,235 pounds daily, a decrease of six per cent. The average cost per million gallons was reduced to \$3.40.

#### Carthage, Missouri.

THE MUNICIPAL lighting plant of Carthage made a net revenue of \$1,618 last year in addition to paying all running expenses and furnishing the city with about \$7,000 worth of light free.

#### New York's Public Baths.

A NEW public bath was put into operation in New York in January. The building occupies the block on the east side of Avenue A between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets, and in addition to a 65-foot tiled swimming-pool, contains two large waiting-rooms and 152 dressing-rooms and shower-baths. Every one is required to take a shower-bath before using the swimming-pool. The building is equipped with all sanitary improvements, noticeable among which is the gutter which surrounds the pool and which prevents the water splashed upon the floor from running back into the pool.

#### Somerville, Massachusetts.

Water bills were issued as follows:	
Total (annual, additional and metered) water charges.....	\$233,187.37
The account has credit for the amount received from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, distribution of entrance fees, water supplied outside the district, and water furnished water companies.....	
	800.30
	\$233,987.67
Abatements made on the above charges.....	\$6,324.03
Refunds made on the above charges.....	443.00
	6,767.03
	\$227,220.64
Income from sale of water.....	
Amount received from water service assessments.....	\$3,929.80
Amount received from costs.....	45.00
Amount received from labor and materials sold.....	3,105.01
Total income from water works.....	\$234,300.45
This amount was used as follows:	
For water-works purposes:	
Water-works maintenance.....	\$26,941.29
Water-works extension.....	19,195.86
Abatements on water charges of previous year.....	5.10
Miscellaneous accounts.....	4,155.48
Interest on water-loan bonds.....	3,935.00
Maturing water loan bonds.....	6,000.00
Metropolitan water-works assessment.....	97,160.08
	\$157,392.81

For other municipal purposes:	
Sewers, maintenance.....	\$12,000.00
Interest on sewer-loan bonds.....	8,827.50
Maturing sewer-loan bonds.....	18,000.00
Fire department.....	24,500.00
Suppression of gypsy and brown-tail moths.....	1,000.00
Reduction of funded debt.....	10,792.96
Unexpended balance of water-works funds carried to credit of Excess and Deficiency account.....	1,787.18
	\$76,907.64
	\$234,300.45

In addition to the appropriations from water income to other municipal purposes enumerated above, water has been furnished without charge to all the city departments that have required its use. The value of this water is estimated at \$12,000.

#### Fort William and Port Arthur, Canada.

THE "TWIN CITIES" of Fort William and Port Arthur are probably the leading exponents of municipal ownership in America to-day, and their citizens are already looking forward to the time when the city, instead of collecting taxes, will distribute dividends.

Fort William owns its water works, electric-lighting and telephone systems, a theater and a dance hall. Port Arthur owns the street-railway systems of both cities, its water works, lights, telephone, and 1,500 acres of valuable lake-front land which it is holding for the future encouragement of industrial development. The only privately-held franchise in the two cities is in the hands of the Bell Telephone Company, but that corporation has only one instrument out of every eight, and, with the passing of the ordinance requiring all wires to be put underground, will probably withdraw.

Both cities generate their electricity by water power. The plant of Fort William alone is capable of generating enough current for a city of 2,000,000 inhabitants. The street-railway line in 1907 cleared \$92,000. The net profit for four years under municipal ownership is \$90,898.38, one-fifth of the entire cost of the road. Were this profit distributed in dividends it would mean three dollars to each inhabitant of both cities, or thirty dollars to each taxpayer in Port Arthur. The cars are operated by policemen.

Canadian telephone rates generally range between twenty-five and fifty dollars a year. These municipal systems charge only twelve dollars a year for a residence telephone, and twenty-four dollars for commercial service.



In four years the net earnings of the two systems have been about \$9,000.

The municipal theater and dance hall in Fort William are both in the city hall. The theater, which has tended to raise the standard and lower the cost of the performances given, pays the city six per cent. on the investment.

From the net earnings of its public utilities in the last four years Port Arthur has had

about \$100,000. This has reduced the tax rate six mills on the dollar. The most noticeable result of municipal ownership, however, has been the improvement in the government of the cities. Party politics have disappeared, and municipal office, instead of being a possible chance to make something has become a definite opportunity to do something, an honor well worth striving for.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

By ROBERT TYSON.

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

### Progress in Oregon.

IN PREVIOUS issues of this department I have noted from time to time the progress of the movement to get a vote of the people of Oregon on Proportional Representation next June. The Proportional Representation Initiative petition has been sufficiently signed, and now the People's Power League asks the electors of Oregon to vote for a constitutional amendment which will permit the enactment of a Proportional Representation law in the future, and which in the meantime provides that each voter shall have one vote only; thus introducing at once the Single-Vote feature into the multiple electoral districts that Oregon now possesses.

About 7,500 signatures are required in order to get a question on the official ballot. The actual number of signatures obtained for the Proportional Representation Initiative was 9,912. This surplus of over two thousand signatures ensures that the question of Proportional Representation will be submitted to the voters of Oregon next June.

Mr. W. S. U'Ren of Oregon City writes:

"The People's Power League has filed its quartette of petitions and the 'copy' for the explanations. The old party politicians are thoroughly alarmed in Oregon, and we are going to have a red-hot campaign. I expect soon to be 'out on the stump.' The prospects seem very good for the success of the four measures of the People's Power League (one of which is Proportional Representation). As soon as the secretary of state gets out the pamphlet with the arguments

on our measure I will send you some copies."

I have also received a letter from Mr. H. Denlinger, of 1445 Garfield Avenue, Portland, Oregon, a gentleman who has been active in getting signatures for the Proportional Representation petition. Among other things he says:

"Very many of the people I have seen asked me for literature, and I have agreed to see them again. As an indication of the amount of work that must be done, I will say that not one man in a hundred that I approached seemed to know anything about Proportional Representation. Copies of the Proportional Representation amendment will be sent to every registered voter in the state, together with the arguments, but a great deal of special work is needed. We ought to distribute some simple elementary literature in pamphlets, which would state the general principle with a simple illustration. I expect to prepare something of this kind myself."

It is evident from the foregoing that there is ample scope in Oregon for the activity of proportionalists. Those who have either time or money to spare, or who have any suggestions to make, would do well to communicate with one of the two gentlemen named.

### Extend Work in England.

AT A RECENT meeting of the English Proportional Representation Society, held in London, about twelve hundred dollars was subscribed towards the following objects:

- (1). The foundation of a journal.

(2). The organization of the central office on a permanent basis.

(3). The arrangement of meetings and lectures.

(4). The establishment wherever possible of affiliated societies.

In addition to the sum named, there was a guarantee of five hundred dollars a year for 1909 and 1910.

The first issue of the new journal has appeared, and Secretary Humphreys has kindly sent me some copies. Its title is *Representation*, and it is a neat publication of eight pages, with cover, the inside pages of which contain explanations under the appropriate headings of "Our Aims" and "Our Methods." Under the latter heading is given a description of the Hare single transferable vote. The former is so brief and so well put that I reproduce it here, as follows:

"OUR AIMS."

"(1). To reproduce the opinions of the electors in Parliament and other public bodies in their true proportions.

"(2). To secure that the majority of electors shall rule and all considerable minorities shall be heard.

"(3). To give electors a wider freedom in the choice of representatives.

"(4). To give representatives greater independence from the financial and other pressure of small sections of constituents.

"(5). To ensure to parties representation by their ablest and most trusted members."

News and Notes.

I take the following paragraphs from the new English journal, *Representation*:

"The Municipal Representation Bill, on which the House of Lords' Committee reported not unfavorably last session, will be reintroduced early next session by Lord Courtney in the House of Lords. The new bill will, in its electoral provisions, be practically the same as that which was discussed last year, but the machinery for the adoption of the proportional system will be altered in accordance with the recommendations of the Lords' Committee. It will be remembered that the bill proposes to allow municipal corporations to adopt the proportional system for municipal elections.

"Another bill which will be of interest to advocates of electoral reform is Mr. J. M.

Robertson's Parliamentary Elections Bill. This bill proposes to introduce the system usually known as the 'Second Ballot,' by means of the use of the transferable or, as it is sometimes called in this connection, the 'alternative' or 'preferential' vote. Thus in a single-member constituency where more than two candidates stand, the elector can place the figures 2, 3 and so on against his second, third and further choices. Then, if on counting the votes no candidate has more than half the total of votes cast, the candidates lowest on the poll are eliminated one after the other and their votes transferred to the other candidates, if any, whom their supporters have marked as next in order of preference. This goes on until some one candidate has more than half the votes. This system has been in operation in Queensland since 1892, and has just been introduced into Western Australia by an act passed in December, 1907.

"Advocates of Proportional Representation will view this bill with mixed feelings. Some will consider that it is a step backward, inasmuch as it will do away with such occasional representation of local minorities as three-cornered contests sometimes produce. Further, it will perfect the system of single-member constituencies, which is always and everywhere the enemy. Others will be inclined to say that the introduction of the machinery of the transferable vote is a step in the right direction, as it familiarizes the voters with an integral part of the Hare system. In any event we may be allowed to hope that the bill will so far succeed in the private members' ballot as to be discussed in a second-reading debate. There is never a discussion on electoral machinery without a convert to Proportional Representation.

"If Prince Bulow contemplates a change in the existing Prussian electoral system, he might do worse than examine the proportional representation recently introduced into Wurtemberg. Of the first elections *Der Beobachter*, a leading journal of Stuttgart, reported: 'The new electoral system, which only a short time ago was unknown to the electors, worked without a hitch in the whole country, just as it worked a few weeks ago in Stuttgart. The first feeling is one of surprise. The number of votes was enormous; the candidates were numerous and the ballot papers from the different districts were in various forms, and yet the whole

machine, from the district officials to the employees of the government offices, who collected the results, worked with promptitude and ease. The next feeling is one of pleasure after complete success of this first experiment in proportional representation on a large scale in the German Empire.'

"We see by the *Municipal Journal* of January 17, 1908, that an agreement has been arrived at between the Government and some of the opposition parties for a bill

providing for universal manhood and womanhood suffrage in local elections coupled with proportional representation. It is noteworthy that this remarkable step in the direction of democracy should have been made by agreement between the political parties. Universal suffrage accompanied by just representation of every interest is very different from a state of things in which representation is monopolized by any one party or class."

ROBERT TYSON.

## NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### New England Still Co-operates.

THE COOPERATIVE movement which started in the New England States in 1845 with the establishment of a workingmen's coöperative union in Boston and which spread so widely and rapidly during the next thirty or forty years, has generally been supposed to have died out, and the experiences undergone in Massachusetts, especially, have been pointed out as the definite failure of coöperative enterprise. While it is true that the Western states have far outstripped the East in the wide-spread establishment of coöperative stores, elevators, creameries and productive organizations, still New England has not fallen so far behind as is generally believed.

There are at present twenty-two coöperative creameries in active operation in Massachusetts, which are conducted by the farmers themselves and which are proving successful business organizations. There are more than sixty stores and distributive companies. There are three coöperative colonies and a few coöperative telephone companies in the more sparsely settled districts in the western portion of the state. There is a wide-spread sentiment among the Massachusetts granges in favor of the establishment of coöperative stores under the management of the grange, and this is being done to some extent by granges in other parts of New England, notably the Houlton Grange of Houlton, Maine, whose last year's business amounted to something over \$100,000. The coöperative

bank movement has reached its highest development in Massachusetts and has been a material aid to the working people, especially in buying their own homes.

### Fellowship Farm.

OF THE colonies the one which seems to promise the greatest success was organized during the past year by a number of Boston people, who desired greater economic independence and the right to call a little plot of ground their own. They found a farm of seventy-five acres of arable land which could be purchased for \$8,000. This farm is situated in Westwood, one of the most typical of the old towns of Massachusetts, with its one broad road bordered by arching elms, on either side of which the little white farm houses with their long lines of attached buildings, nestle in peaceful seclusion. The forty men and women who formed the organization paid in \$1,000, which was necessary to secure the title deed to the farm, an average of \$25 for each member. Some paid more and some less, according to the location of the acre determined upon. The remaining \$7,000 is to be paid within ten years. Each member pays a monthly installment of \$2.50, and this amount includes principal, interest and taxes. Forty acres of land are divided up among the members, one acre to each, the remaining thirty-five acres being left for common use such as woodland, pasturage, parking, etc. After payment of \$300, the full amount from

each member, a warranty deed is given him for his acre.

Fellowship Farm has been in existence for more than a year now, and a number of little houses have been erected on the little plots of ground. The buildings which were on the farm have been turned to the use of the colony. They have a large printing plant, and publish the little magazine *Ariel* of which George Elmer Littlefield, the leading member of the colony, is editor.

#### **The Homecrofters.**

ANOTHER progressive land-holding organization in Watertown, a city of 9,000 inhabitants on the Charles River seven miles west of Boston, is known as the Homecrofters. The hope of Mr. George H. Maxwell, the originator of the movement, is to get people away from the crowded city and on little farms of their own. The Homecrofters publish a monthly magazine, *The Talisman*, operate a printing plant at Gildhall, and publish books.

#### **The Maynard Store.**

ONE OF the most progressive stores in Massachusetts is in Maynard, a manufacturing town of less than 10,000 inhabitants. This store is one of the most prosperous coöperative stores in the United States, and its record will stand comparison, all things taken into consideration, with the English coöperatives. The Riverside Coöperative Association was organized in 1878, twenty-nine years ago, and during that time they have paid out nearly \$70,000 in dividends to their stockholders. The Association owns one of the finest buildings in the town, valued at \$11,000. There is in this building, besides the store, a large and pleasant "Coöperative Hall" in which their gatherings are held, and which is rented for various festivities. The business of the association shows appreciable increase from year to year, the last six months' sales amounting to \$42,000 as against \$38,000 for the same period last year, and the paid-up share capital is \$14,870 this year, an increase of \$650 over last year. Nearly \$10,000 worth of stock is carried, and annual business amounts to almost \$85,000. Interest is paid on the capital and dividends on purchases—which this year amounts to eight per cent. The report for the six months ending December 31, 1907, shows sales of \$42,055; rentals of

\$508; paid to sinking fund, \$900; depreciation, \$127, and dividends to members of \$3,000. They deal in groceries and shoes, and own some real estate aside from that which they occupy. Semi-annual stockholders' meetings are held at which reports are presented and officers elected.

#### **Telephones in Vermont.**

IN THE central part of Vermont there are a number of coöperative telephones, and though they had a small and insignificant beginning a few years ago, the movement has now spread until the farmers have several thousand miles of line. In the fall of 1899 the first line was built from Corinth to West Corinth, a distance of three miles, by six men each of whom built a half-mile of line and bought his own telephone. This plan has generally been followed by the other companies who have established coöperative lines. The initial cost is about \$40, unless the farmer does not have to buy his own poles, which reduces the expense to approximately \$25 or \$30. The cost of maintenance is about \$3 a year.

The company which controls the telephone lines about Corinth is incorporated under the laws of Vermont under the name of the Corinth Coöperative Telephone Company. Their capitalization has been increased from \$10,000 to \$50,000 which represents about 1,000 miles of line and 2,000 stockholders.

The president, Mr. C. L. Speare, who was the originator of the first line, reports that many other companies stretching up and down the Connecticut Valley, connecting hundreds of isolated farmers and farmers' families with each other have been organized. His company as well as most of the others, has been running trunk lines, for more speedy business between switches. They have lines in four counties passing through Barre and Montpelier. When a man becomes a member he signs the company's by-laws and agreements and pays in eight dollars, furnishes sixteen cedar, hemlock or tamarack poles that cost from twenty-five cents to one dollar each, and then gives a day's work in putting up his half-mile of the line. After this he pays sixteen dollars for a telephone and one dollar for setting it in his house, and thereafter pays his assessment of three or four dollars a year.

Mr. Speare says of it: "It has proved the greatest benefit to the farmers and all country



dwellers of this part of Vermont that has ever come to them. It is thoroughly coöperative and there is no idea of money-making in it."

Besides the system of which Mr. Speare speaks, the people of the village of Randolph and surrounding country also have a coöperative company, which is known as the Orange County Telephone Company. The success of this line started a few years ago, is largely due to the energetic and active work of G. R. Andrews of Northfield, the president, whose house in Northfield serves as a central exchange. It was constructed on the same plan as the line of the Corinth company, and has hundreds of farmers as stockholders who get the coöperative service. This line is connected with about 8,000 phones in eastern Vermont, and is still growing, having a large number of members in villages and cities as well as on the farms.

#### **Maine Farmers Telephone.**

IN MAINE, too, there are a number of coöperative companies organized by the farmers in the northern central portion of the state, where the New England division of the Bell Company does not extend. They are generally incorporated under the title of the Telephone and Telegraph Company, and branches are established in Norway, Sweden, Paris, Stoneham and North and Center Lovell. They purchase their wires and phones in common, and all of these independent lines can connect with each other.

The organization of the one in Center Lovell is typical and interesting, showing as it does the progressive common interest among the organizers. The reason in this instance for the establishment of the coöperative line was the refusal of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company to run their lines north of Center Lovell, a little town about fifteen miles north of Fryeburg. The farmers held a meeting in the town hall and voted to organize a company. In order to become a stockholder one must purchase two shares of stock at five dollars each, and purchase a telephone which costs about twelve dollars. There were to be no further costs. By this arrangement there were twenty-eight on one line and there was no central station. Later this was changed to two lines, fourteen members on each line, each subscriber was assessed an additional two dollars, and a central was established. Non-members have to pay ten cents a call.

At the end of the first three months a profit of five dollars was reported. This company was organized at the beginning of 1906.

One of the rules of the company is that "No Graphophone concerts will be allowed on this line," it having previously been the custom for any member who possessed a graphophone to give his friends the benefit of the concerts to the detriment of the general service.

This movement is becoming more and more general throughout Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, and it is one of the encouragements of the times, indicative as it is of an increased good-fellowship among the farmers.

#### **Mississippi Farmers Union.**

GEORGE R. HIGHTOWER of Mississippi has resigned his seat in the Senate in order to take the presidency of the Mississippi division of the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America. In his statement to the members of the Union and the people of the state, after appealing for the coöperation of all the citizens, he said:

"Sixty-five thousand members [in Mississippi] are now paid up and in good standing. I want every union man and woman to constitute himself or herself a special committee of one upon membership and begin the work right now to swell that number to 150,000 by January 1, 1909. Every Mississippian who loves his state should agitate and encourage such diversification of crops as will make the state absolutely self-sustaining. This diversification should be so general as to reduce the acreage of cotton very considerably. With these two objects attained, an effort will be made to finance all of the distressed cotton of the crop of 1908. I shall a little later ask certain citizens of this state to coöperate with us in this effort. A systematic effort will be made to install a number of gin-compresses during the year, thus preparing cotton at the gin for shipment direct to the spinner. To this end I respectfully urge upon the management of the state penitentiary farms to install these presses to handle the state's large cotton crop. The question of cotton bagging to take the place of jute will receive careful consideration, and in this we solicit the support and coöperation of the planters, ginnermen and all parties interested in our great money crop, cotton. The building of union warehouses at every important shipping point in the state is necessary to

the success of the movement to improve the system of handling the staple. We hope that during the summer a plan can be evolved whereby it will be possible to federate these warehouses with the view of facilitating the handling of cotton."

#### **Indiana Dairymen.**

MEMBERS of the Indiana State Dairymen's Protective Association are about to organize a coöperative milk-distributing plant and creamery for themselves and others engaged in the production of dairy products for the Indianapolis market. Stock is being sold at fifty dollars a share, and the company is to be incorporated as soon as sufficient stock is subscribed to insure the success of the enterprise.

#### **Georgia Negroes Organizing.**

SOME of the leading negroes of Atlanta, Georgia, are organizing branches of the Coöperative Union among the negroes of Georgia. Their intention is to have the negroes so thoroughly organized that in a short time an effective strike may be ordered all over the state unless better wages are paid. An organizer, a white man, has been mobbed by white men in three different Georgian towns for distributing circulars among the negroes.

#### **A New York Store.**

A NUMBER of socialists have started a coöperative store in the Bronx, New York City. The store is located at 490 Wendover Avenue.

#### **Finance Without a Frenzy.**

THE Whitestone Coöperative Savings Association of Flushing, Long Island, has been in existence more than sixteen years, and during that time has invested approximately \$300,000 of its shareholders' money, and has never suffered the loss of a single dollar. Shares of investing members amounting to more than \$6,000 have matured and been paid, and those shareholders have received in each instance \$200 for \$152 paid in.

#### **Erie Railway Employees.**

EMPLOYEES of the Erie Railroad are establishing the Erie Railroad Employes Buying Association, a coöperative organization with a capital stock of \$50,000. Shares sell for one dollar, each shareholder has one vote, and though there is no limit put on the number of shares a member may hold, none but Erie employes may take stock, and upon leaving the employ of the railroad, shares are to be surrendered and money with interest is to be refunded. As soon as \$3,000 is subscribed a grocery department in the association is to be formed. HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

## **THE BATTLE OF PRIVILEGE AGAINST DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.\***

A BOOK STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

### **I.**

"THE MAGNET" is the most virile and graphic pen-picture of modern high finance that has recently appeared. Its author is a prominent lawyer of Wilmington, Delaware. He has made an exhaustive study of Wall Street's masters of millions,—that unique group of ill-famed gamblers whose

intellectual cunning and daring are only surpassed by their moral turpitude and innocence of the sentiments of justice and honor which are the foundation of sound business, of national greatness and individual worth. These anarchists of wealth, whose defiance of law has kept pace with their systematic efforts to debauch government and replace incorruptible statesmen with political bosses and corporation henchmen, and whose great and sinister fortunes are largely the result of

\*"The Magnet." By Alfred O. Crozier. Cloth. Pp. 498. Price, \$1.50. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

gambling with stacked cards, Mr. Crozier presents in a pitilessly realistic and truthful manner.

The author has made a painstaking and exhaustive study of Wall Street. He has taken his readers behind the scenes and revealed to them the secret machinery by which the people have for years been progressively despoiled while the government in city, state and nation has been corrupted for the evil ends and immense wealth of the few. His study of Wall Street has enabled him to discern the present plot of the conspirators in their desperate attempt to gain complete control of the currency of the nation, which would enable them to hold the business interests of America in the hollow of their hands and thus render it possible for them also completely to control government and shape its action to their lawless ends.

A signal service was recently rendered the cause of good government when at the meeting of the Civic Federation last December Mr. Crozier was able to checkmate a movement that bore every mark of being one of the many preconcerted plans of the conspirators to aid in the furtherance of the present plot against the nation's finance. All signs indicated that the Civic Federation was to be made to endorse the scheme for elastic currency, or some one of the three bills which Wall Street is trying to engineer through the present Congress, any one of which would give the spoilers a strangle-hold on the people's currency. The conspirators against the nation's prosperity are thoroughly alarmed at the awakening of the great American people to their peril. They know that unless they can get some cunningly-devised measure through Congress, which would give them the control of the nation's finance, while the Lodges and the Cranes, the Aldriches, Penroses, Depews, Platts and their ilk are standing guard in the Senate, the aroused electorate may drive the money-changers and their handy-men out of the temple of legislation and restore the government to the people. Hence their desperate effort at the present time to compass their deep-laid plan. Now at the meeting of the Civic Federation a number of smooth talkers, whose plausibility and sophistry are so admirably calculated to chloroform the nation, had been advocating Wall Street's plan for currency legislation. All was going well, when Mr. Crozier arose and uncovered the plot so clearly and con-

vincingly as to spread consternation in the camp of the conspirators and prevent the work they had evidently expected to compass. The *New York World* declared that Mr. Crozier dropped a bomb "into the placid councils of the Civic Federation." Belmont, Banker Herrick of Ohio, Isaac N. Seligman, Henry Phipps and Mr. Speyer had everything going precisely to their liking, when Mr. Crozier's unmasking of the plot checkmated the game.

We cite this incident to indicate the kind of man who has written this most important politico-economic novel of the year, a novel that is at once as historically faithful as it is graphic and attention-arresting in character.

Mr. Lawson in his vivid unmasking of Wall Street gave the world a story of infamy of which he was particularly well qualified to speak, having long been one of the active participants in the gambling deals; but his picture of the panic-makers was no more powerful or vivid than is Mr. Crozier's, while the latter has an incomparably clearer grasp of the fundamentals of finance than Mr. Lawson.

*The Magnet* is a book that should be bought, read and circulated by every patriotic American between now and the coming election. This we say in spite of the author's amazing protection views and in spite of his failure to realize that the more the government seeks to regulate criminal corporations, the more those corporations will debauch politics for the sake of the enormous revenue that can be wrested from the people so long as they control the regulating force of government and are able to continue their career of lawlessness.

## II.

Most social and economic or political romances have little more than the skeleton of a story on which to hang the message and arguments of the author, who, as a rule, is so absorbed in his serious discussion that the romance as such is wooden and of little interest. Such, however, is not the case with *The Magnet*. True, there are long discussions devoted chiefly to Wall Street and swift finance, to the present plot to get control of the currency through the passage of one of the three bills now before Congress, and also to specific phases of the warfare of the master rogues against the government's effort to secure justice for the people in

regard to railway traffic. But apart from these discussions there is a strong and highly interesting love romance that will hold the interest of the general reader, even though he may know little and care less about the great vital politico-economic problems that should be of most serious concern to every worthy citizen.

The novel opens with the discussion by certain great high financiers of a plan for further acquiring the wealth of the people through seductive schemes so long practiced by Wall Street. The two high financiers in question, however, have found the public rather slow of late to enter their traps, and they are perplexed as to just how to proceed to inflame the cupidity and the gambling spirit of the nation. They believe that if they can succeed in getting the American people to believe that they can get something for nothing, a fortune for a pittance, they can soon lure millions and hundreds of millions of dollars into Wall Street; and knowing as they do that they can so frame the game that little of the money will go back to the people, they are ready to resort to almost any expediency to educate the gambling instincts of the nation until the millions are ready to become their victims. They have been discussing the situation in a secluded spot in a park, but it happens that an impecunious professional gambler, who has beaten a hasty retreat from a western mining camp because his partner had been caught and killed in an attempt to get the money of the innocents by virtue of a wheel worked by secret springs, is within hearing distance of the Wall-Street financiers. He is a past master at playing with loaded dice and stacked cards. He has long been engaged in exciting the cupidity of the people in different sections with alluring tales of easy wealth, until the hypnotized victims came under the gambler's spell, and he now offers to show these two high financiers how they can easily acquire millions upon millions, playing a "sure thing" game in Wall Street. In unfolding his ideas of how the masters of the machine can make the wealth-creators of the land a nation of gamblers and in so doing relieve them of their millions, without the slightest risk of losing in the game, this western professional crook, Barney by name, says:

"It strikes me that you have a machine which can be made to induce everybody in America to gamble to their finish, once you

get them going. Why, gents," he cried, waxing enthusiastic as the certainty of it dawned upon him, "It beats faro, monte, the shell game and the wheel-of-fortune to a standstill! Sometimes a player will watch you so close in them that you have to let him win or risk gunplay. Then again, the brake may go back on you, and you stop the machine on the wrong number so the player rakes in your coin. But in your game you can't be beat. You don't even let him see the cards or the machine he plays with, and he wouldn't understand it if he did. He must always take your word that the play was fair and that you won his money honorably."

Moved to action by the force of his own perceptions, Barney was now striding back and forth before the bench, frowning over a puzzling point, and breaking into broad smiles as it cleared before his mental vision.

"We used to be satisfied to run our game for nothing, so long as we won the stakes," he continued. "But you charge for running him through your own amalgamating machine when you know that the best fire-assay will fail to show any value left in the tailings."

Sterling, to whom mining parlance was not new, laughed heartily at this. King joined him a trifle vaguely. But Barney was too intent on his subject to be diverted.

"Your graft is all right and your deck is a cinch. What you want is a way to interest the people in it. Do it this way, gents—"

"Frame up things folks are interested in and think they know all about. Advertise these things in the papers. Bait your hook with 'em, and your haul will beat that of a sucker-net dipped below the dam in the first spring freshet. String together a lot of railroads under some big name, then 'list the stock' as you call it. Folks are riding on the railroads and shipping over them. They kick about the high freights, so they'll want to play even by getting in on your side to rake in part of the dividends. Then, bunch a lot of factories that have been chasing each other with scalping knives. Show 'em it'll pay better to stand together and scalp the people, and you get a good rake-off for teaching these industries to play the game. Then list their combination in your machine and get them playing. You'll soon have all the money, own the properties, and have them all running for your benefit. Whenever you discover a new lot of people with money, find



out what they are most interested in, capitalize and list it, print quotations so that they can watch the fluctuations each day, and it's dollars to doughnuts that their wings will be singed with the heat from the hot-boxes of your mill within a month."

The love romance with which the book is largely concerned begins with the second chapter. Indeed, Chapter One should have been published as a prologue to the tale, for the characters with which it is concerned have disappeared when the romance of Helen Morton commences. Here we are introduced to the son of the man who was the master of the Street, the great gambling king and head of high finance in the opening chapter.

Young Morley Sterling since the death of his father has been the new Wall-Street master. He is fabulously rich, but the gambler's madness, the insanity of avarice, has possessed his soul. He has one ambition, and that is to be the richest man in the world and through wealth to become the most powerful of human beings. It is the old, old lust of the materialist, who, misled by the seeming, imagines that power, place, pleasure and the possession of wealth, even though unblest by moral idealism, can yield happiness, peace or true greatness.

Now Morley Sterling has been engaged to Helen Morton, the beautiful and gifted daughter of one of the greatest and bravest clergymen of New York City, and at the outset we meet these young persons engaged in an intimate conversation such as lovers wrapped up in each other are wont to enjoy. Soon the conversation turns on a subject that for days has been uppermost in Morley Sterling's mind. He has been preparing for the greatest "killing," to use the term of Wall Street, that the gambling world has ever known. He has succeeded in deceiving every one, so that when he speaks the word the bottom will fall out of the market and millions upon millions of dollars will be diverted into his pocket from thousands of ruined men. He knows that banks will be broken, that a trail of suicides will follow; but what is that to him? He will be the richest man in America and in a position to become the richest man in the world. Believing that Helen will be interested in his success, and with his mind calloused by a life marked by moral obliquity that passes for virtue with the great Wall-Street gamblers,

he unfolds his plan to his fiancée. She is amazed and shows her interest and credulity. These only serve to lead to him to a full and explicit description of Wall Street and how its masters play the game with loaded dice. The following extract from this conversation furnishes some vivid glimpses of America's great Monte Carlo, the most demoralizing center of moral death in the New World. Mr. Crozier has made a careful study of the subject he discusses and his writing is that of an expert.

"What do they mean by 'Wall Street,' Morley?" asked Helen Morton of her lover, and he replied:

"Wall Street, my dear Helen, is a name used indiscriminately both to designate the game of swift finance and the machine with which it is played."

"Swift finance? Machine? I fear I am dull, Morley. I don't understand." And her expressive face confirmed her puzzlement.

Sterling smiled, and set himself to the pleasant task of enlightening her.

"The Wall-Street machine is the embodiment of that inscrutable and mysterious power which executes the financial will of its invisible master, undetected, with predetermination and with infallible accuracy. The essence of this power is associated mental affinities bound together by the common desire to get rich quickly—at the expense of others if they can, but of each other if they must."

"Do you mean only a few men?" she queried. "I should think they would quickly exhaust each other's resources."

Sterling laughed. "Oh, the desire to get rich quickly pervades the whole country. Everybody wants to do so easily. But only a few who are really on the inside understand just what is to happen. Many who consider themselves a part of the machine discover too late that they are only within it and enmeshed by its rapacious organs of digestion. In fact, the greed of its organized appetite is such that it often feeds upon itself; and most of its other organs and members are ultimately swallowed up in its all-devouring maw. But, strange as it may seem, no sooner is one swallowed than two immediately spring in his place, until its innumerable and itching tentacles stretch out and into banks, trust and insurance institutions, public offices and private homes, throughout the country, enticing thousands

from the path of sound business, honor and happiness into the quicksands of speculation, ending almost invariably in utter ruin—and frequently in despair and death.”

“O Morley, that is awful!” exclaimed Helen. “Are you sure it is so bad?”

“Now don’t think I am preaching a sermon or overdrawing the thing, my dear girl,” he said, answering her words and look of horror. “I am simply giving cold facts known by every man in the profession. Finance is a profession, you know, like surgery or engineering. And streamlets of wealth cannot be diverted into one great river without injury to their natural channels. Such disagreeable things will happen. Men will sometimes lose their money in a bad investment, or their lives in a railroad wreck. Men are free moral agents. And if they will gamble for excitement and the hope of profit, Wall Street simply affords them the easiest opportunity and takes their losses as profits for its pains. It usually applies a speedy cure for the mania by depriving the gamblers of their means for keeping up the hallucination that they have any chance to finally win.”

“Why don’t the people let Wall Street alone? What makes them gamble in its securities?”

“Because Wall Street has its commercial drummers the same as other business organizations, only we call them *tips*. Tips get the business. They are the closers. And those paid to circulate market tips are the cappers, the bunco steerers, who round up the purchasers. Speculation would be cut in half, but for these irresponsible, indefinite, unreliable, yet all-persuasive tips. A man getting a tip, even from a stranger, will hug it passionately as he dives into his jeans for his money. He invests as promptly on this waif ‘hunch’ as though betting on the sure thing at three-card monte, when he supposes the dealer does not see the confederate (posing as another innocent player) mark the winning card by slyly turning up its corner and then win several bets. The attention of the excited victim is diverted by this success, and he fails to see the dealer, as he leap-frogs the cards back and forth, deftly turn down the corner of the marked card and turn up the corner of a blank. The victim bets and loses. But, he thinks he has been careless or made some mistake, so he bets again with like results. And when

the dealer, and his co-conspirators, think the man’s pile exhausted, they decamp before the other realizes that he simply has bought a little knowledge of the other fellow’s game. Just so with the man who yields to the seductive tip, always put into circulation to induce the public to take the losing side of the trade. A stray tip covertly launched (which may have come through many mouths, changed in form and substance each time repeated) will so stimulate a man’s imagination and excite his cupidity that, even after he has lost his money on it, he will hunt out and thank the one who gave it, begging for another ‘straight tip.’”

Quite unconsciously, Sterling with his last words strengthened Miss Morton’s resolve to hold her judgment of him in abeyance. Certainly she would never give him cause to think her a “trifling maiden” deliberately making a “durn fool” of him. But this did not divert her attention from his absorbing exposition of Wall Street, as he continued.

“Many effective means are used to accomplish what the boys call a ‘killing’ in stocks, quite aside from passing dividends and defaulting interest and circulating tips. Tales of impending disaster are printed in the papers as news, though often paid for at so much per line. Or sometimes the independent and patriotic owners of these molders of public sentiment are let in on the ‘short side of the market just before the inevitable drop which such articles are sure to cause. But by far the most powerful and dominating means of dropping quotation prices on a given stock is to withdraw the pool support of it.”

“A pool! What is a pool, Morley?” was Helen’s query. Most of the Wall-Street idioms were explained by their context, as Sterling used them. But this one puzzled her.

“Every large issue of securities is managed and controlled by a group of big financiers acting in concert,” he answered. “And this is called a pool. One of their number is designated to manage the transaction, although he frequently consults the others. This leaves the others free to manage pools of other stocks. In what is called a ‘blind pool’ only the manager, to whose discretion the others trust, knows the manipulations to be practised with the money of pool. Of course pool arrangements are kept secret. Not even the brokers who execute the orders on the floor of the Exchange know whether

quotation prices on a given stock are that day to be boosted to the swallows' nests under the eaves, or dropped into the coal cellar. Nor do they know who shapes the game they work, nor who own the pools they serve and enrich, for they receive their orders by circuitous routes."

"Is not the natural law of supply and demand effective in Wall Street as elsewhere?" Helen interrupted. "As you tell it, the purchasers in this game of finance seem nothing but puppets."

"Yes," agreed Sterling, "supply and demand are supposed, the world over, to be the one infallible and omnipotent regulator of prices. But that is put in complete suspense by the power of these pools. So vast have their combined resources become, so perfect is the coöperating machinery for working their will, that it is believed in Wall Street that they could easily suspend the law of gravity. And they would do so, substituting their own will as the universal magnet, were they certain other worlds are peopled with beings willing to exchange their material possessions for the immaterial delights of watching the fluctuations of a celestial stock market. To capitalize Jupiter, Saturn and Venus, bind them together into a holding company or trust, and dilute them with the Milky Way, would be (with the aid of the incorporation laws of New Jersey) mere child's play for the financiers of the pools. And within a month they would so illuminate and glorify this phantom of their creative genius with the wonderful colors of the Aurora Borealis (incorporated) that all the departed souls since the dawn of man would be chasing it through space as the New Jerusalem."

This was too much for Helen Morton, shocked and pained though she was, and she burst into hearty laughter. Sterling joined her, pleased with his own wit and with her as an intelligent and absorbed auditor.

"Now, dearest Helen," he explained, "it is because I control the men who control all these pools, that I speak with such perfect confidence as to what will happen in the realm of rapid finance to-morrow. Therefore, although in your sweet presence I desire to appear with becoming modesty, I cannot tell you the whole truth, the essential facts about Wall Street as it is to-day, without adding one thing more: *I am its master.*"

This conversation proves a rude awakening to the girl, who almost immediately after it occurs goes up the Hudson with her father

and mother for a few weeks' sojourn at a vacant cottage belonging to a friend. Here Helen is rescued from death during a runaway by a young man who proves to be the newly-appointed United States Senator from New York, John Hays. Hays is upright, incorruptible and a statesman with high ideals, even though at times his vision is not as acute as it should be. The acquaintance that results from this rescue of Helen by Senator Hays is followed by the great Wall-Street "killing" that Morley Sterling had planned with such consummate skill. Numbers of men in trusted positions find themselves bankrupt and their banks and trust companies insolvent. Some of the bankrupt gamblers commit suicide, some flee, and some seek to lay the blame of their breach of trust on innocent shoulders. One of the victims of this last-named class is young Charles Morton, Helen's only brother. John Hays defends the boy and by the aid of a detective, who was an old childhood playmate of Hays, the accused youth escapes punishment when all hope seems vain.

Later a great battle opens in Washington. Morley Sterling wants to get hold of the nation's finance; an elastic currency is the cry. The publicity bureaus of the Wall-Street gamblers, and the multitudinous mouth-pieces of the "interests" throughout the country, have succeeded in deceiving the nation and making the people believe that their prosperity is dependent upon the banking bills introduced by henchmen of the gamblers who pose as champions of business interests and national prosperity.

The plot of the Wall-Street interests which Mr. Crozier so ably exposed in last month's *ARENA*, is dwelt upon at length in *The Magnet*, as well as a plot which the corporation chiefs try to engineer through Congress to increase their hold on the great arteries of trade. John Hays fights the conspirators, who in turn seek to make him the victim of a dastardly plot and later strive to bribe him. He becomes the double object of Morley Sterling's intense hate; for besides thwarting the financier in his plot to rob and wreck the government of the people, Hays wins Helen's heart and hand.

There is much action and interest in the romance, which is not devoid of highly dramatic scenes. As has before been pointed out, there are from time to time very able discussions on serious political and economic issues and vivid pictures of the doings of the

feudalism of privileged wealth. Mr. Crozier is peculiarly happy in his pen-pictures of Wall Street and the master spirits whose lawless action has only been matched by their systematic gambling.

When, however, he comes to suggesting remedies, he is far less happy than when describing conditions. His diagnosis is for the most part a masterpiece; his prescribed treatment at times is of a halting, half-way character that could not fail to prove disappointing in results. For example, few who have studied the question deeply enough to appreciate the situation, imagine that governmental control would solve the problem, knowing as they do that corporations like the great railway and other public-service companies, which offer unlimited opportunity for wealth if their masters are permitted by government to use their great monopolistic power for the oppression of America's wealth-creators and consumers, by watering stock, charging all the traffic will bear, making secret rates with confederate trusts and monopolies, and using the stock for gambling purposes, have the stake of fabulous and ever-increasing wealth as the lure and will stop at nothing to gain control of government, for that control means the acquisition of wealth that will make the privileged few all-powerful—the masters at once of government, of the nation's business, and of industry and its products. Only through popular ownership, by which the master high financiers and law-defiers will have no longer an incentive to prostitute government, can we deliver the people from one of the gravest evils that free institutions are at present battling with.

Again, Mr. Crozier's views on protection are most amazing. He represents the great master of Wall Street as strongly advocating free trade, for selfish purposes. This position is to us inexplicable in the light of facts as they exist. The late Mr. Havermeyer, long the master spirit in the sugar trust, was certainly entitled to speak as an expert on the tariff, and he never uttered a truer word than when he admitted that the tariff was the mother of the trusts. There are certain great causes of inequality and injustice in our land to-day that are basic in character. Monopoly in land, monopoly in public utilities, the special privileges granted by the tariff, and special privileges enjoyed by the banking class are all fountain-heads of taxing

power that have been used oppressively, not to say mercilessly, in building up the present-day feudalism of privileged and predatory wealth. The idea that the great master spirit of Wall Street wants free trade so as to make possible lower wages is as amazing as it is fallacious. The working man has been long overworked as a fence for the tariff barns, precisely as the "widows and orphans" are always used as a fence for the stock-watering high financiers and gamblers when redress for the people's wrongs is sought from extortion and oppression. The increased wage of the worker due to the tariff is small indeed in comparison with the increased profit that the monopolists are able to wring from the people. Take the steel trust for an example. Where a comparatively few among labor's hosts receive a little benefit in the form of higher wages,—benefits, however, which were it not for the power of organized labor would doubtless be even smaller than are enjoyed,—the entire American people have to pay a fearful tribute to furnish dividends on the millions upon millions of watered stock and princely salaries for a favored few. Englishmen get the trust products laid down in London at from six to eleven dollars per ton less than Americans have to pay in order that princely dividends may be paid on water and that enormous salaries may be paid to men like Schwab and Corey. Every man and woman in America is directly or indirectly robbed to pay these unjust taxes.

No; high protection, monopoly in public utilities, monopoly in land and the great storehouses of the nation's wealth, which the Common Father has provided for His common children, and monopoly in money,—these are the fountain-heads of injustice and inequality against which the people must wage unceasing battle if they would be free and enjoy equality of opportunities and of rights.

In spite of these defects, which we think are greatly to be regretted in so strong, virile and able work, *The Magnet* is, in our judgment, the most important politico-economic novel of the present year and a book that every American voter should read before the next election. Never have Wall Street and its unholy works been more graphically and truthfully set forth than in *The Magnet*.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*



## "THE INWARD LIGHT."\*

A BOOK STUDY.

B. O. FLOWER.

IN MR. HALL, Buddhism has an interpreter whose rare insight is only equalled by his charm of style, which can only be compared to the melody of Mendelssohn's music. To peruse this work is like revelling in a prose poem of rare beauty. Most writers who attempt to set forth the theological views of other peoples, especially views so essentially different from the concepts of the Western world as are those of Buddhism, weary the general reader with a maze of abstruse and metaphysical speculations which fail to give any sharp, clear, photographic idea of what the millions of the East who follow the teachings of the great Buddha really believe. Not so with our author. He is by nature a poet and a mystic; a man of interior vision and strong intellectual grasp. He evidently has been charmed by and completely won over to the teachings of the East, and to him it is a labor of love to unfold to the Western world the message that has long been the light of Asia.

In the opening chapter Mr. Hall considers "The Secret of the East" and notes what he conceives to be the radical difference between the East and the West in the presence of religion or those great problems that touch life's profoundest depths and extend into infinity.

"What," he asks, "is that great and vital principle that underlies all Eastern faiths? What is that truth that finds so varied and so different an expression in Hinduism, Shintoism, Buddhism and many another religion, in the philosophies of Laotze and Confucius? What is the understanding of the world that is acceptable alike to prince and peasants, to philosopher and laborer, to soldier and recluse; that is the basis of all truth? The West has sought it always. It has recognized that from the East came light, that in the East there rose a fountain of the spirit that dried up never. The West has sought, but has not found.

\*"The Inward Light." By H. Fielding Hall. Cloth. Pp. 228. Price, \$1.75 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

"It has never looked deep enough. It has mistaken things, taking the non-essential for the essential, the form for that which it encloses, the temporary for the eternal. It has borrowed and then has found that what it took away was but a dead thing and that the life was left behind.

"The East has ever been and is religious, not in part of its life but in the whole of it. It has held that religion is not of one day but of all time, not of time only but of eternity, not of eternity only but of every moment. To its mind religion embraces everything, not man's soul only but his body, all of him; and not man alone but the whole universe; not some virtue but all virtues, all that is good and all that is evil. It is not therefore a theory, a teaching, a method, nor an ideal, a dogma, a thought; for these, however great, however true, must always be narrow, cannot hold but a little part of the truth. They are finite, whereas religion is infinite. It is none of these. Religion is a way of looking at life and at the universe, it is a way to see and understand.

"But to the West it is not so, and when it has gone to the East and asked for truth, it meant by truth a moral, or a virtue, or an ideal, or a dogma. It has sought the clothes in which truth shows itself and not the truth. Therefore despite all the books written of Eastern forms of faith none have been understood. The writers have explained nothing because they saw nothing, felt nothing, knew nothing. More especially is this true of Buddhism, that latest expression of an all-world view."

The general introductory chapter is followed by the elucidation of the chief religious concepts of the East, especially as they are taught by Buddhism. The volume is written as a series of sketches—we almost said stories—for indeed there is an incident with human interest that is a starting point or is used as an objective illustration for the special subjects with which the various chapters are concerned.

The scribe of the volume is represented as being an Englishman in Burmah. He has been thrown from his horse and is found by the natives with a broken limb. He is taken to a near-by Buddhist monastery. Here he convalesces in an atmosphere so full of peace and love that he declines to be removed to the English quarters some distance beyond, even after his friends have come to take him away. And here in this monastic retreat it is that the sage explains to him the great religious concepts of Buddhism. We think it is safe to say that nowhere in literature can there be found a work at once so fascinating and lucid as this volume, which will give the general reader a clear and vivid panoramic picture of Buddhism and the reasons for its great distinguishing tenets. To appreciate the beauty of the author's style, the lucidity with which he presents his thought, and the simple sincerity that gives added charm to every page, it will only be necessary to peruse the following paragraphs from the chapter entitled "The Wind," which deals with the sphinx of sphinxes, the riddle of life—"the fate of the man-child." The discussion opens with this highly poetic little prelude:

"They sat and watched the night veiling the world in sleep. The darkness stretched into eternity and the stars wheeled upwards in a grand procession. Orion blazed above them and the Pleiad cluster hung like a pearl upon the bosom of the night. There was a deep stillness, for the winds were hushed, a stillness not of death but of a great life that slept and dreamed.

"Suddenly from the village down below there came a sound, a cry that pierced the stillness like a pain, and on the cry there came a music. It rose and fell upon the night; now keen with the shrilling of a flute, and brazen with the clang of cymbals, now sad and slow with the sound of strings. Then it failed into the throb of drums that beat—that beat—that beat a measured sadness of monotonous refrain; and the flutes cried again.

"The peacefulness of the night was broken, the dark that had been so clear became opaque, the distances closed in. The finiteness of things became more manifest. For in the music was a harshness and a discord that drove the thoughts back into the heart. They would not go abroad in such companionship. The sounds occupied the shrunken night alone.

"A man was dead."

This discordant note, this human wail occasioned because of the death of a poor sufferer—a leper—leads the Englishman to question the monk.

"Life, what is life?" he asks. "What is man's soul, whence did it come, and whither does it go? A man is dead below there. Men pass upon the wings of every moment that fleets by us. Men are born and die. I am here, whence did I come and what am I? That man is dead. Where is his soul?"

At length the monk replies, but we can give only a fragment of this interesting and suggestive discussion which from first to last is richly suggestive.

"Life is a breath that comes from the eternal here to us. It is not a thing, a substance that lies within us, but a tide that pouring on this world builds up our bodies and is itself our souls. It builds our bodies to manifest itself. Consider. Suppose we sat not in gardens but on a barren rock, and we could only see, not feel. The wind might blow but we should know nothing. It could not stir the rock. The air might move but could not manifest its presence. Life must have proper form to manifest itself in. It has built up our bodies little by little through the ages that it may show itself, that life may live. It raises them ever to manifest itself more fully. Life is from without. It is not a prisoner held in bondage in an earthy cage from which when the bar breaks it flees."

"And the man's soul?"

"Life lives forever."

"The body goes back to earth. Can it not rise again?"

"My friend," the monk answered, "think. What are you? Are you the body or the life that built it up and made it live? . . . A body is a finite thing, life is infinite. Would you have the life that moved the leper, for he was a leper whom they mourn below, compelled for all the ages to manifest itself only in that poor body, or in any body however good? Life is a progress and a change. The stream of spirit ever widens and requires greater power to work in, to live in. Each body passes, and from its dust are built our new bodies greater and stronger, better able to perform the behests of the greater spirit."

"Is there then no immortality of body? Must we go always into forgetfulness? The spirit has an immortality, the body none?"

"It is so hard," he said, "to speak of, to put into words, that which one sees and knows to be beyond all words. I thought that all men felt the consciousness of what life is. And yet I remember two thousand five hundred years ago, that was the difficulty. And those who saw and taught were called Mystics, splitters of words, dealers in cloud and fog because they tried to say what never can be fully said. Yet as you ask I will try. Every living thing we see is twofold, it is spirit expressed in matter. Matter is built up by brute forces which act according to fixed laws. The spirit which takes this matter and makes it into living forces is also twofold, unconscious and conscious."

"Take myself or you. Our bodies are built and kept by forces that are unconscious; we breathe, our pulses move, our food is turned to blood by no conscious effort of our own. They will work when our conscious life is asleep or absent."

"But conscious life is different. That comes not from inheritance, not from our parents. It manifests itself within the body, but is not of it. It affects it. The greater our consciousness, the greater the master, the more obedient is the servant. It is affected by the body, which is its instrument through which it manifests its life and consciousness. They are bound together; yet each is different, and each gives to other immortality. Each has its laws which it obeys or disobeys. Again there is this difference."

"The soul is immortal always, but the body, that stream of bodies which began so far back we cannot see it, and come through our parents to ourselves, may suddenly be stopped."

"But our conscious life is different, a man's body is continued in his children, but not his soul, his conscious life. That is the wind that passes."

"The wind passes," said the man, "and has no personality. And when man dies is that so too with him, his consciousness, his soul? Does that, too, merge into a formless wind?"

"The monk shook his head."

"That personality continues also. It goes on with all the merit and demerit it has acquired. It goes on forever, until—until—"

"Until?"

"What is beyond the stars, beyond the utmost star? What is infinity?"

"No one can tell."

"That is the answer. No one can tell. Why should we wish to know? Is it not enough to see a little space before you, a day's march on in front? One idea is this, that as there was a time when unconscious life existed alone without consciousness, so in time we may grow to that perfection that Consciousness and Will and Righteousness may exist without the confining bounds of matter and unconscious life, but the truer thought is that the conscious life, the Soul, will be blended with all the forces into one great whole, infinite, universal."

One of the most profoundly thoughtful chapters of the work is entitled "Rays of Infinite Light." It embodies the Buddhist concept of the evolution and the advancing march of life:

"The sun is the source of light and heat, and without it we should have no life. It draws the waters of the seas into the heavens and gives them to the land. All power comes, or has come, from it. The wood we burn has gained its heat from heaven and keeps it for awhile. The protoplasm in the plant vibrates to the same energy. Life is not in it but in the sun that gives it. Sun-worshippers have recognized this, and they have used him as the symbol of the science of all the life that is. It comes always from without as does the sunlight."

"The sunlight comes upon us in a flood, but that great tide is made of tiny beams, and in each beam lie all the properties of the whole; visible and invisible rays they all are there. Each little beam that filters through the leaves is a completeness in itself, an entity, a personality. Yet when incarnated in a leaf its expression differs from all the rest."

"We are such beams from the eternal sun. We come straight from the source of life and consciousness, a beam bound up with others but distinct, manifest in flesh."

"The sunshine fell upon the lamp hung low beside the window. The cut-glass crystals underneath it broke the golden stream into many colors. They passed a shining band across the shadow and fell upon the wall. He traced it with his finger, and he said: 'This is the symbol of life as the East has always seen it; not as a substance, shadowy, filmy, still a substance placed within our bodies, but as a beam and a force, made up of many forces.'

"This is the symbol that I sought. The

heavens have given me what I could not find. This light that comes down from the sun is the allegory of the life that comes from God. It comes upon us from above, and in it are many forms, as in the light are many rays.'

"He laid his finger on the red ray. 'Here,' he said, 'is the first we see, but there are rays beyond, dark rays. These are, as it were, the blind forces that built up the earth, that made the crystals in the rocks, that hold the water drops together, that make the winds move to and fro. There is no light in them, no intelligence, only force and power. So God built the world with the dark rays before the higher life could come.'

"And when the world was builded, when the seas were made, the mountains lifted up, the earth divided from the water, He added just another tiny ray, not dark this time, but with the faintest light of life. And it made protoplasm from the materials gathered for it. So rose the humbler forms of vegetable life. Little by little the ray grew brighter and the life increased. This ray it is that is the life. That is what makes the sap to rise and fall, the leaf to spread, the bud to open. Yet not this ray alone, but this added to all that went before. For alone it could do nothing. The dark rays made and keep the world, and to them light and life is added. And so life broadens. So the invisible merges into the visible, the brute forces into the unconscious life. As the forms in which life is manifested are made more and more perfect, so the life to be shown therein is increased.

"Then came the further rays that lie beyond the visible. There came upon the world the first faint ray of consciousness, of conscious life, of will, of power to move and act, to do right and wrong. These put into the protoplasm the life that grew up into animals. The rays increased, and the increasing unconscious and conscious life built up little by little the animal form to manifest itself in. Out of animals came man, and man rises ever. His consciousness, his conscience which is his knowledge of right and wrong, his will to do that which he sees. That is the evolution of the entity of man, which is the compound of all the forces from the beginning—the brute forces, the unconscious life, the conscious life. He is a compound of them all, and they are all in the beam that is his life. They are all one, and yet they fall into three parts, with three moralities,

three laws, three forms of righteousness.

"First, the blind forces, gravity and heat, expansion and contraction, electricity and many another. They have their laws, which laws are their morality, their righteousness. They cannot disobey them. They never act but in one way, the way directed. Gravity cannot draw faster or slower, light cannot pass whither it would, the crystal forms ever in one fixed way. They have no life and they endure, but do not grow or change.

"Then came the unconscious life of plants who have a right and wrong, for they may live and spread or else disappear. They may grow and become a fuller manifestation or they may cease to be. As they adapt themselves to the world about them, as they fortify themselves by strength and beauty and usefulness, so they have immortality. Yet it would seem they have no conscious life, only unconscious.

"With the conscious life there came a conscience, a steady growing knowledge of right and wrong, a steady growing will to do that which is right, a steady growing control over the lower forces. That is our soul. From the first beginnings in the earliest years, our souls have grown as our bodies have developed in one stream, and the life in them; and the soul that is added to the life has increased.

"The knowledge of right and wrong which we recognize in animals has become ever more clear, the will to do that which we see proportionate to our knowledge grows with it, our power to enforce our will grows also. The lesser rays have found little by little their master. The soul rules. As yet his control is slight because his knowledge still is slight. Knowledge comes first, control later. So is man now a beam of life manifested in a body it has built.

"And that is how the East sees the world."

On the doctrine of transmigration of souls, the author has somewhat to say. Space renders it impossible, however, for us to do more than give a brief extract:

"How easy now is the belief in transmigration. The increasing life and soul has built itself up by slow degrees a form to show itself in. The imperfect beam showed in the animal, the higher in man, still the same beam only with addition. It is an evolution of the soul manifested in an evolution of the body. And evolution acts both ways.

"As the life of man has arisen from that of animals by the addition of a moral con-



sciousness, so if in successive lives that consciousness, that soul be not cultivated and followed, we may fall back again. The higher ray may fade and the beam become again the same as that the beasts have. So the life of man has been in animals and may be so again.

"That is the underlying faith of all the East, that is their view of life. Man's soul, his life is not a kernel made fresh at birth and which in death is liberated and banished from the world. It has existed always and has won its way upwards. It is not an inherent quality of certain forms of matter as science would seem to tell us, it is a force that comes from God and manifests itself in matter."

We have happily pretty well passed that childish stage in our history when men conceived it to be a virtue to close their eyes in the presence of religious concepts different

from those they had been taught to believe. Now it is recognized among the thoughtful that the Creator gave man reason and the searching spirit, that he might question every sphinx. So, although one may not accept the teachings of the East, the man who would be intelligent can no longer remain in ignorance of what its people believe and the wherefore of their convictions; and no popular presentation of the cardinal tenets of Buddhism can compare with *The Inward Light*. This work contains twenty-two chapters, not one of which the thoughtful reader will be willing to leave unread. Many of them will call for a second perusal because of the light they throw of many problems that have for ages perplexed the brain of man.

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Boston, Massachusetts.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

*The Rebirth of Religion: The Causes of the Present Religious Unrest in Europe and America.* By Algernon S. Crapsey. Cloth. Pp. 324. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

A REMARKABLE book is this by the lately deposed Episcopal clergyman whose trial for heresy gave him a national reputation. Mr. Crapsey is a man of broad intellectual grasp, historical knowledge, analytical power, strong convictions, fearless utterance and lucidity of expression. At the same time his work is constructive rather than destructive and is worthy of a place in every library where there is no fear of truth.

In commenting on the Athanasian and the Nicene Creeds, the author remarks that one who tries to understand them is lost in wonder at the patience and stupidity of mankind. And again he says: "We would rather be free-thinkers in hell than orthodox intellectual slaves in heaven."

Nothing since Henry Frank's *Doom of Dogma* has been so outspoken against the old dogmatic theology. And yet the work is devout, instructive and inspiring.

"Man can become man," says the author,

"only by making himself one with God, and it is in the strength of his divinity that the man of the human ideal and the man of the social order is to preach his gospel to all peoples and bring all nations into the obedience of the Faith."

The following explicit statement of the author's position should disarm hostile criticism:

"The Christian creed to-day is discredited, not because the faith of man has failed, but because the faith of man has outgrown it. Later observation has corrected the errors of earlier observation. We do not cease to believe in God because we have ceased to define God in terms of the dogmatic. We believe in God all the more because our thought has outgrown the dogmatic. He whom we adore is a greater God by a whole continent than that God which was worshipped at the time that the dogmatic was formulated. And our whole method of approach to God, intellectually, is changed. We do not reason from an abstract conception of God downward to his attributes, but we first find out what we can know about God through his manifestations. All we can know we must learn from what we see in the world round about us and what we can discover in our own inward nature. Taking all the facts

\*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

and reasoning from them as best we can, we come to our notion of the Divine Being. Our method is the method of inductive reasoning, rather than deductive, and we are very patient. We do not make hasty generalizations. We are content with what knowledge we have, and are ready to act upon that knowledge and then to believe the best of God. This method is at work and it is bringing to naught much of what has heretofore been considered as necessary truth. We no longer consider it a crime to think, but we consider it a crime not to think. We hold that knowledge is always imperfect, and must always be subject to investigation, and that beliefs, being nothing else than imperfect knowledge, must be constantly passing away."

No rational mind can find fault with the foregoing, and yet it may lead to very radical results. It has already carried us into an agnosticism concerning many things of which our fathers felt sure, but even agnosticism may mean an advance. Only those are prepared to learn who realize that they do not know. The great theological lesson of the age has resulted in showing us our ignorance and now we are ready to go on as never before.

The old dogmatic had its work to do and did it. It stimulated thought and created great dialecticians. It prepared the way for something better. But in passing it has left us an immoral residuum. In its eagerness to uphold an infallible revelation it has given the world an immoral conception of God, an immoral conception of man, an immoral dogma of exclusive salvation, and an immoral doctrine of hell.

The new dogmatic brings to us new faith, new hope and new enthusiasm. It brings the scientific spirit into religion, and this scientific spirit "has dissipated the whole scheme of the universe in which the dogmatic originated. That three-compartment universe of earth, hades and heaven has no place whatever in the thought-world of to-day." So says the author, and he truthfully adds: "The scientific spirit has taken full possession of all the instrumentalities of education except the pulpit. The press, the school, the university, are all working for and developing the scientific conception of the universe, and these are more mighty than the pulpit and are reducing it to a nullity. It is then the spirit of the age that is completing the overthrow of the dogmatic, and it is a mere

matter of fact for a man within or without the church to declare that a new era, which knows not the dogmatic, has arrived. The churches may shut their eyes, but their blindness and their deafness will not save them. If they be founded upon the dogmatic system, then their foundations are undermined, and they as institutions must fall into ruin."

In other words, the very essence of Christianity involves the unwavering pursuit of truth. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Truth. Christianity in order to be true to itself must assume not an unchanging but a changing faith. Its beliefs must keep pace with the advance in all spheres of knowledge. In this way only will it keep its hold upon man and be a help to him in his struggle upward.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Ils of History.* By Joseph Edgar Chamberlin. Cloth. Pp. 203. Philadelphia: Henry Altamus Company.

THIS interesting little volume deals with many of the momentous moments of history when the fate of civilization seemed to turn upon some happening in itself quite trivial, or some event that at the time seemed to possess little importance, but which carried with it great destiny-shaping consequences. Doubtless many people would consider all such speculations as idle, since what is is, and no man knows definitely what might have been if events at crucial moments had shaped themselves differently. Yet this speculation is more than a fascinating pastime. It serves to recall to the reader great historical moments and will doubtless tend to make many who peruse its pages return to their histories to learn more of the great facts briefly and pleasingly dwelt upon.

The work contains twenty-two chapters, beginning with the battle of Salamis; and among the leading subjects touched upon are "If the Moors Had Won the Battle of Tours;" "If Columbus Had Kept His Straight Course Westward;" "If the Spanish Armada Had Sailed at Its Appointed Time;" "If Champaign Had Tarried in Plymouth Bay;" "If Lafayette Had Held the French Reign of Terror in Check;" "If James Macdonnell Had Not Closed the Gates of Hugomont Castle;" "If Abraham Lincoln's Father Had Moved Southward, not Northward;" "If the Confederates had marched on Washington after Bull Run;" and "If the Confederates

States Had Purchased the East India Company's Fleet in 1861."

The volume is well written and is a valuable work especially to place before young people to stimulate a further interest in history.

*A History of the United States Navy.* By John R. Spears. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THIS work in the short compass of less than 350 pages presents an excellent story of our navy from its inception to the present day. The author, like most writers on naval topics, is an advocate of a great American navy as a means of promoting peace,—a view with which we do not coincide, though we believe there is far more justification for a large appropriation for naval affairs than for a standing army.

The story of our naval evolution is well told and the author is particularly happy in describing the dauntless and daring achievements of our naval heroes,—achievements that have proved a mighty inspiration to our naval forces from admirals to the lowliest seaman. From the days of Paul Jones to the close of the Spanish War, the history of our naval officers and marines has been for the most part a record of honor and heroism,—a record untarnished by dishonor, cruelty or ought that can bring the blush of shame to the patriot's brow.

This work can be recommended to all persons who desire a brief, well-written and authoritative history of the American navy; while its special excellence is found, we think, in the author's vivid and graphic descriptions of the heroic deeds and great achievements of the naval forces in critical moments.

*Gillette's Social Redemption.* By Melvin L. Severy. Pp. 783. Boston: H. B. Turner & Company.

AS A REVIEW of "world-wide conditions as they exist to-day" and particularly of those conditions that are most undesirable and call loudest for reform, this book is more nearly comprehensive than any other encyclopedia of social ills yet published.

The reader is plunged into the awful race wars that mar our boasted civilization and made to see the fiasco of peace talk and the imminence of hideous and gigantic interna-

tional strife. International competition and tariff piracy are shown up in undress, and our national shame is exposed in blushing red heat. And there is a way of redemption.

The paganism and brutality of Christian Russia, the perfidy and cruelty of Leopold's misgovernment of the Congo Free State, and the unspeakableness of the unspeakable Turk prove conclusively that something is wrong. And a certain remedy is forthcoming.

Even America has fallen from her high ideals, and may be in the clutch of tendencies that will place her on a level with Russia. There's a reason.

Our federal judiciary is a bulwark of absolutism. The fountains of our civic life are polluted with the corruption of ill-gotten wealth. Public service is exploited for private profit, contraction of currency has greatly increased the debtor class. We have stained our hands with the blood of weaker peoples and presume to rule them against their will. And for all this there is a plan of salvation.

The chapter on "Our Land Graft" is especially good and replete, as is the whole book, with facts and figures of great interest.

"Congress in particular is chargeable with the full and guilty knowledge of this colossal crime. We have seen how 200,000,000 acres of land were, with fatuous generosity, bestowed by Congress upon the railway companies,—an area as great as the combined areas of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and North Carolina,—and we are now to see how during the last fifteen years at least 150,000,000 acres,—the equivalent in area of thirty states the size of Massachusetts—have been stolen and added to this stupendous total of alienated lands. Moreover, the best authorities assert that, when the full truth is known the 150,000,000 acres now known to have been stolen will very probably be swelled to 300,000,000 acres, or an area approximately equivalent to one hundred states the size of Connecticut or more than seven times the gross area of all New England!"

"Consider for a moment what this means. Three hundred and fifty million acres is 546,875 square miles.

"Estimating the present population of the United States at something less than eighty-four millions and the average family to contain, say, five persons, though this is an over-

estimate, the figures in 1900 being 4.7 persons per family,—we find that *every family in the United States has been robbed of a farm of more than twenty acres area*. When we wonder at the poverty which stares us in the face on every hand, it is well to remember that every man, woman and child in our great country has been robbed of the means of a handsome competence by the very legislature originally designed for their protection."

"Much of the land of the United States, especially the Western and Southern farming land, is held in large tracts. For instance, the Texas Land Syndicate No. 3 owns 3,000,000 acres in Texas, in which such English noblemen as the Duke of Rutland and Lord Beresford are largely interested. Another syndicate, the British Land Company, owns 300,000 acres in Kansas, besides tracts in other states. The Duke of Sutherland owns hundreds of thousands, and Sir Edward Reid controls 1,000,000 acres in Florida. A syndicate containing Lady Gordon and the Marquis of Dalhousie controls 2,000,000 acres in Mississippi."

The last paragraph above is quoted from Henry George, Jr. In fact the great bulk of the volume consists of quotations and these are admirably well chosen from the standpoint of effectiveness from a wide range of social and political literature of the best radical type.

The despoliation of the people, the lawlessness of the law, the injustice of the courts, the prevalence of lynching, the rise of peonage, the prostitution of the legal professions, the subordination of man to money, and the Reign of Terror in Colorado are also dealt with in detail before we get two-thirds through this remarkable volume, but we are assured that the Gillette System for Social Redemption is calculated to cure every social ill and establish an ideal brotherland on earth.

Impatiently we skip the last third of these myriad social woes to learn from "Appendix A" what Gillette's Social Redemption really is, and even here we do not find out. The following sentences may stir the imagination, but a description of the system is reserved for a second volume. Mr. Severy says:

"In an ideal social state, then, men would do those things which were pleasant for them to do. We fancy we hear you say: 'If that were the case a great many would do nothing,' but, fortunately for humanity, that statement is not true.

"We see, therefore, that were it possible so to alter social conditions that every man could make play of his work, the whole face of human creation would take on such a smile as has never been known to the sons of men. Now this is precisely one of the things which the plan known as 'Gillette's Social Redemption' aims to accomplish. At first thought it would, perhaps, seem to you that were every one permitted freely to select his vocation, two difficulties would immediately become apparent; first: that each one would choose the pleasantest and least onerous work, and, second: many would select pursuits for which they were not qualified. The system in question, however, perfectly meets both of these objections."

"The determination of the *exact price* which shall be paid to the producer of any article is one of the most ingenious features of the system, and one which, so far as we know, has never before been proposed. We refer particularly to the method by which the ratio of supply to demand is made *automatic*, and *without the intervention of human judgment*, to fix the price with absolute justice.

"We regret that space does not permit us to explain this self-adjusting social mechanism in sufficient detail to enable the reader thoroughly to understand it. Suffice it to say that it is as unfeeling and impersonal,—as free from favoritism and as coldly exact,—as a perfectly interacting, self-regulating mechanism of steel."

"Under the proposed *régime* there will be no compulsion. A man may work as much or as little as he pleases, but, *and here is the great point*, he cannot consume one iota more than he actually produces. If you imagine that great storehouse of wealth, the earth, to be a lake, and human endeavors to be dippers, you will be able to form a mental picture of conditions as they would exist under the new system. Each social unit would be free to dip up whatever water he needed to satisfy his thirst. If he cared for much, he would dip up much. If he were not thirsty he would not be compelled to dip up any, but in no case could he drink a drop which he had not dipped up. Compare this with the present system, where men are forced to dip from morn till night, and to go thirsty meanwhile, being only permitted to take into their mouth, to satisfy their thirst, about what oozes through their skin as the sweat of their thankless task;



and this, while the few, who never dip at all, are enabled to maintain ostentatious and geyser-like fountains from the water furnished by an army of thirsty toilers while they themselves in many cases, do not so much as know the feel of the dipper."

"The world-wide corporation with the *unlimited, elastic* capitalization, to which we have referred, will be organized for the purpose of purchasing and ultimately controlling all means for the production of wealth throughout the world. Its capital will consist of the money paid in by the people, and these funds will be used for the *purchase outright of approved standard, dividend-paying securities of well-known and unquestionable value.*

"The corporation by-laws will provide, with the utmost care, for the selection of the finance board which has the matter in charge, and the investor will be safeguarded in every way against the inefficiency, or wrong-doing of this board. The purchases made by the corporation will be spread over such a number of standard securities as will make loss impossible."

"Under the new *régime*, patriotism, which has now degenerated to a mere *prejudice of locality* would then become a world-wide *humanitarian sentiment*, without meridian or parallels of latitude; without distinctions of race or color; without discrimination in the matter of nationality or social status; and without differences in the matter of belief, age or sex. *All mankind would then be one common brotherhood.* For the first time in the history of the race all the members of the human family would be integrated into one compact social organism, correlated in all its parts, and informed by a composite intelligence which, on the clock of the world, would make the minute-hand mark hours, so rapid would be the march of human progress. The present irksome toil of the masses would become play, in which the classes would share, until all distinctions of class consciousness utterly broke down. The drone turned into workers; the waste of the hive eliminated; each social unit would have ample time for the development of mind and soul, as well as body. A hitherto unknown *esprit de corps*, a delightful comradeship, a sympathy which feels not only *for*, but *with*, would then pervade the whole human fabric."

This is truly a rosy picture and portrays a consummation devoutly to be wished, but the writer gives no hint of the steps to be

taken to reach it. How the creation of this world-wide corporation is to be brought about, how people are going to be converted in masses to this plan, and how the other really serious problems which necessarily confront the execution of so vast a scheme are to be solved our author does not deign to let us know.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

*Poems and Essays.* By Edward C. Farnsworth. Illustrated. Leather. Pp. 364. Price, \$5.00. Portland, Maine: Smith & Sales.

THIS volume contains the collected poems of Mr. E. C. Farnsworth, together with three notable essays on "The Origin, Development and Mission of Music," "The Origin and Mission of Beauty," and "The American Composer."

Mr. Farnsworth is a valued contributor to THE ARENA. In the present issue will be found a masterly paper from his pen on "Leibnitz, Hegel and Modern Theosophy."

The volume before us is chiefly devoted to the author's poetical works, and though many of the lines are fine and some of the poems are of marked excellence, we do not consider Mr. Farnsworth at his best as a writer of verse. Among the poems that most appeal to us are "The Master to His Violoncello," and a somewhat long poem on "The Tone Poets." From this latter admirable creation we extract the closing lines:

"Beethoven! Master! thine the pean ringing,  
And thine the clear, onrushing melody!  
Thine, too, the climax of the trancing song!  
Behold, thy magic wand thou raisest and  
The distant West, deep-muttering, doth frown,  
The winds, inconstant, wake with boding wail,—  
The tempest bursts, the cloudy van darts fire,—  
The ceaseless, heaven-shaking thunders roll! —  
Streams out at length the long-enshrouded day;  
The hiding birds, their fear-stopped founts un-  
loosed,  
Come forth with joy renewed, and by the brook  
The peasants make again high holiday.  
I hear Titania and the Elf King!  
Agatha, beauteous in the chaste moon-beam,  
Is warbling all her maiden heart of love.  
Welcome, who bade them be! Thy harmony  
Should mingle with the bliss of those that stand  
Where every harp-string owns a seraph's hand.  
Greeting, rapt Bard divinely pouring now  
Thine Earl King, Wanderer, and Serenade!  
Welcome, inspiring Minstrel heaven-inspired!  
Elijah's deeds and Baal's downfall tell!  
Right welcome, great Romanticist! O sing  
Of Mignon, Blondel, and the Grenadiers!

O bardic Band! Immortals young! O ye  
 That teach my uncloyed ear your deathless themes  
 One stands amidst, his poet brow enwreathed  
 With tribute laurel. Strong Upbuilder, hail!  
 Thy lofty walls shall scorn the brunt of Time,  
 And every art, made one, shall temple there.  
 Thou singer of the sky-descended Grail!  
 Monsalvat's bells fore-ring the wakeful hour,  
 And, at the summons, yonder knightly throng  
 Is upward wending to the hallowed tower.  
 And now the restless Morn, unbidden come,  
 Arouses me to routine, worldly care;  
 She speaks!—Night's fervent eloquence is dumb!—  
 She looks! and instant melts the vision fair.  
 O be it that when through the valley dark,  
 Or when I strain o'er rough and dangerous ways,  
 Of this remembered night a note, a spark,  
 Shall cheer and guide me unto better days!"

It is as a prose essayist, however, that our author is most satisfactory to us. Here his thought is clear and philosophical; his ideas are such as to appeal to the imagination and the reason; and his style is marked by beauty of expression and a rhythmic or poetic quality very pleasing to the reader. From the essay on "The Origin and Mission of Beauty" we make two brief quotations that well illustrate the author's thought and style:

"It was held by Plato that the words Beauty, Truth, Good, are synonymous, and designate the primal concept of the Divine Mind, the underlying forms of the Archetypal World whose outward expression is the objective Cosmos. Bathed in supernal light, those forms transcend finite comprehension; with them is inseparably associated every perfection in the Universe. Comprehending the Archetypal, high intelligences have emanated to man the idea of Beauty.

"Whatsoever the appreciative mind considers beautiful, whether bodily form, mental attainment, or spiritual condition in man, or Nature's handiwork in all her lifeful lower kingdoms, or her manifold inanimate creations, or the result of man's imitative skill, compels the sane judgment to its verdict because each and all of these in some measure illustrate the law of higher and higher becoming. The normal and progressive—physical, mental or spiritual—ever approaches the concept of Eternal Mind; it seeks to identify itself with that which epitomizes Beauty, Truth and Good.

"Probably no artist-lover of the Ideal, contemplating his best work, has felt that entire satisfaction with which it fills his admirers. Keener of vision, he knows that Perfect Beauty—she for whom every power

of his being was exercised—did, after all, elude him; he but touched the garment's hem of the incomparable goddess who, stepping higher, turned, and, for a moment great with encouragement, beckoned him to renewed efforts; and he, made wise and humble, strives afresh, for now at last he understands her mission: she even to this dull earth descended to lead him upward on the ever-brightening way. Ah, though he may never claim her as his own, in some rare vision he shall see her glorious on heights before whose sheer ascent his feeble humanity must wait.

"Toward those unattained summits did Homer strive, his sightless orbs suffused with a glory we wot not of. Along his lonely pathway the smitten harp-strings rung as his resonant voice, in songs of mighty and heroic feats of war, in songs of strange adventure and far sojournings, came echoing downward, downward, even to the listening plain.

"Ah, when will the Earth clouds lifting, discover the great Triune of Beauty, Truth and Good? Ah, when shall be revealed to mankind those Verities that straining eyes in every age have vainly sought? More stable than the throne of Olympia, they fade not as did the bright assembly of Grecian gods; they vanish not like the Pantheons of the ancient world! Goodlier far than any vision of Helicon, the chosen seat of the Muses, they hide above the towering Meru, the Indian's sacred height. The prophet's millennial mount they glorify. They wait beyond Monsalvat's skyey, templed crest, home of the heaven-descended Grail!"

The volume is beautifully gotten up, a fine specimen of the book-maker's art, being well printed on deckle-edged paper and bound in dark green leather richly stamped in gold.

*Fagots of Cedar.* By Ivan Swift. Bound in boards and buckram. Printed on deckle-edged paper. Illustrated with photographs and pencil drawings. Price, \$2.00. Outer's Book Press, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Also for sale by the author, at Harbor Springs, Michigan.

"FAGOTS OF CEDAR" brings with it the breath of the northland. Mr. Swift's work is strong and virile, revealing the free soul untrammelled by the restraints of convention. When we read his verses we seem to hear the rushing of the wind through the

piners and the roaring of mighty cataracts, and we catch glimpses of wide wind-swept stretches of country over-hung by cold gray clouds. He has little sympathy with the feverish, artificial life of our modern cities, but is peculiarly happy when depicting the rugged life of the lumbermen of northern Michigan, as will be seen from the following stanzas from "The Song of the Cedar-Maker":

"Deep is the wall of the cedar,  
And tough is the take of the Jack;  
But a man with a girl must feed her,  
And the fire must burn in the shack.

*Ax, spud, saw, steel!  
Trim, mark, cut, peel!*

"We tackled the world and shook her—  
A wench with an eye for hate;  
We winked at the woods—and took her,  
For better and bunk and plate.

"Man is a thing for labor,  
Or what's the game of the trees?  
The saw is as good as the saber—  
And tallies are made with these.

"Our talk ain't the regular latin—  
But we cut to the cedar's core!  
Our manner 'll stand some battin'—  
But we pay for our beans and more!

"Tough is the take of the cedar,  
And rough is the lift of the Jack;  
But a man with a wife must feed her,  
And the kettle must boil in the shack."

Of an entirely different character, yet no less typical, is the following, entitled "The Dragon City":

"In this unchanging shaft-light hour by hour  
Pent in and comfortless, the city's power  
Goes grinding on around me; and the sky,  
A somber square the empty winds go by,  
Scarce marks the transit of the night or day.  
A million unfixed spirits take their way  
Beneath my keep, nor seem to reckon why  
They tempt a dragon, follow far, and die!

"I marvel I could quit the peace of fields  
For this, where all our fervent sowing yields  
But mortal thorns to weave us penal crowns!  
I have not learned the tenets of the towns:  
I seem disarmed where every man contends,  
Denying virtue and rejecting friends!

"Where I have wandered, on the northern hills,  
A Presence full of power and promise fills  
Our hearts with common joy; and there we learn  
How comradeship and simple trust will turn  
The fear of beasts and enmity of men.  
But what avails the code I gathered then?—  
The God of farther places *here* they scorn,  
And flout the solemn faiths that *I* have sworn!

"Were men but rude, like some unlettered breed,—  
Then might I stand, as one who knew the creed;  
But here are sinuous ways and sultan smiles,  
Soft insolence, diplomacies and wiles.  
These subtler crafts plain men can never know;  
And fall as falls the unresisting snow!

"From this most pitiless of human mills  
I wonder I am not among the hills,  
Whose faithful benediction followed me!  
And I am pained of infidelity  
At parting from the pines and golden sands  
And old-time friends—the warm and rugged hands  
Of long-true friends! I wonder I should roam  
This way! My heart is *there*—and there is *home*!"

Here are two stanzas which illustrate Mr. Swift's power of painting in a few words a vivid picture of any incident he wishes to describe:

"The glow of the moon's low rim  
Creeps up through the trees to the sky;  
And the night is a deep, sweet hymn  
To the lone doe sauntering by.

"A frail, lithe shape at the spring—  
A quick, strange flash in the night!  
A leap and a keen, hot sting!  
And Death walks weird in the light."

Mr. Swift's poems have much of the strong, virile, thought-suggesting quality of Whitman's work. By this we do not mean that his thought is couched in the Whitmanesque form, for he possesses in a high degree the rhythmic sense, but rather that his poems have in them the rugged, primitive strength, "the tang and odor of the primal things," that marked the work of the older poet.

Our author's name suggests the Slav, but his work would indicate that he had descended from the Norsemen, whose sturdy, liberty-loving spirit seems to impregnate almost every line.

Many of the poems in this volume have appeared in the New York *Independent* and other periodicals. The book is beautifully bound and printed, and would make an ideal gift-book.

AMY C. RICH.

*Come and Find Me.* By Elizabeth Robins.  
Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 530. Price,  
\$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is a powerful novel of life in California and the far North, written by a lady whose remarkably successful impersonations on the stage of Henrik Ibsen's master creations have apparently influenced her in some degree in her writings; for here we see much

of that faithful reproduction of detail in life, that veritism or realism in description, that is so marked in Ibsen's works. Yet the book is in no sense imitative. It is a strong romance, rich in imaginative power and strong in human interest, abounding in flesh and blood characters who appeal to us as real entities. We follow them as we follow the wanderings of our friends when they narrate important happenings that have overtaken them in foreign lands.

We remember hearing Lieutenant Peary make a brief address at a banquet in New York a few years ago, during which he called attention to the oft-repeated statement that after the searchers for the North Pole had crossed the Arctic Circle, they were "bitten by the North." Henceforth ever and anon the Northland lured them to her cold embrace. They might return, but it was only to forget the hardships, trials, privations and deadly perils that had confronted them, in the presence of a profound longing to return to the frozen world of wonder and mystery. And we remember several years ago hearing Sir Gilbert Parker speak of the strange and wonderful fascination of British America, the spiritual uplift and the magic influence which that wonderful land exerted over his imagination,—an influence entirely unlike that he experienced in the tropics or in any other part of the world.

The same spell seems to be upon the author of this work. She herself has visited the Klondike, suffering many privations and hardships in the frozen North; but its spell and power is upon her and it lends interest and fascination to this remarkable romance, which opens in Southern California and deals with largely the lives of two girls and their lovers; with a daring explorer who is so greatly under the spell of the scientific spirit that he fares forth in search of the Pole; with the father of the heroine who years before had discovered gold in northern Alaska and who has for years striven to interest people in his discovery, only to be met with incredulity on every hand; with the lover of the heroine, who, for the sake of the girl, turns aside from his home-coming, after finding gold in the Klondike, to go in search of the father; and with the heroism and adventures of the heroine also in the far North.

The story is entirely out of the ordinary. The author is a woman of undoubted genius. She possesses the seeing eye and feeling

heart of the poet soul. *Come and Find Me* is one of the strongest and most absorbingly interesting love romances of recent years.

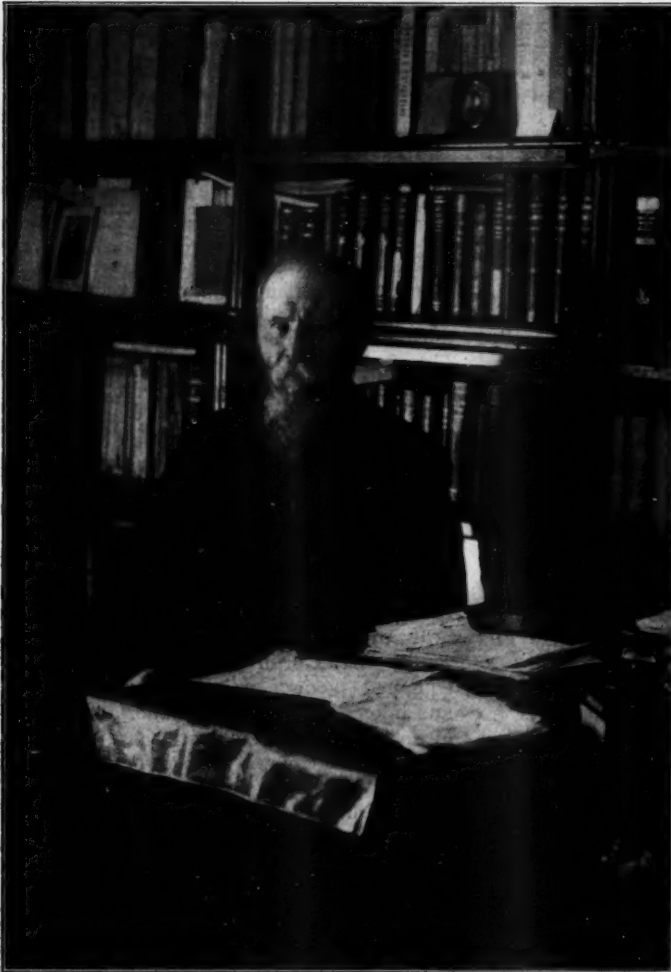
*The Mongols: A History.* By Jeremiah Curtin. With a portrait of the author, and a foreword by President Roosevelt. Cloth. Pp. 426. Price, \$3.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS work deals with one of the most thrilling terrible and important passages in history, a passage about which there is surprising ignorance among Americans otherwise well posted on historical epochs. In a Foreword President Roosevelt, who was a great admirer of Mr. Curtin, gives a vivid picture of the rise of the Mongol power. This forms an admirable introduction to the carefully-written story of the origin, rise and whirlwind sweep of the Mongol, by which he conquered most of Asia and extended his victorious arms well into Europe.

The present volume is devoted to the Mongol in Asia. A work to appear later will deal with European conquests and their result. Mr. Curtin was probably the best equipped modern writer to authoritatively and interestingly treat this important passage of history. That the work has been well done, all readers will admit, for in spite of the multiplicity of strange names, many of them difficult of pronunciation, and the bewildering number of personalities who play a part in this most bloody period known to history, the work from the opening page grips the reader's interest and holds it to the close of the volume, if his desire to know important facts is great enough to overbalance the sense of horror and depression which this story of wholesale butchery and the despoilation of nations creates in the normal mind.

The Mongol power arose on the plains south of Lake Baikal, "where six rivers rise in a very remarkable mountain land. . . . There they (the Mongols) moved about with their large and small cattle, fought, robbed and hunted, ate and drank and slew one another during ages without reckoning. In that region of forest and grass land, of mountains and valleys, of great and small rivers, the air is wholesome though piercingly cold during winter, and exceedingly hot in the summer months. There was subsistence enough for a primitive life, in that country, but men had to fight for it savagely. Flocks





THE LATE JEREMIAH CURTIN, IN HIS LIBRARY AT BRISTOL, VERMONT.

and herds when grown numerous need immense spaces to feed in, and those spaces of land caused unending struggle and bloodshed. The flocks and herds were also objects of struggle, not flocks and herds only, but women. The desirable woman was snatched away, kidnapped; the good herd of cattle was stolen, and afterward fought for; the grass-covered mountain or valley, or the forest with grass or good branches, or shrubbery for browsing was seized and then kept by the men who were able to hold it."

Such was the condition of this people who were destined to become the masters of

Asia and Eastern Europe.

In describing the advent of Temudjin, later known as Genghis Khan, the most complete embodiment of aggressive egoism known to history, our author observes:

"This stealing of cattle, this grabbing of pasture and forest, this fighting, this killing, this capture of women continued for ages with no apparent results except those which were personal, local and transient, still Temudjin the great Mongol appeared in that harsh mountain country. This man summed up in himself, and intensified to the utmost the ideas, strength, temper and spirit of his race as presented in action and life up to his day. He placed the Mongols on the stage of the world with a skill and a power that were simply colossal and all-conquering. The results which he won were immediate and terrifying. No man born of woman has had thus far in history a

success so peculiar, so thorough and perfect, so completely acknowledged by mankind as the success won by Temudjin."

Temudjin first overcame all opposition to himself in his own tribe. Becoming supreme in this group, he then commenced the mastery of all the Mongols. He ruthlessly slew all who opposed him, unless he found them willing to bow to his supreme authority. When his mastery of his own people was complete and his hold over the rude imagination of as daring and desperate a horde of men as ever lived was as complete as was Napoleon's over his seasoned soldiers, the

campaign of conquest was opened,—a campaign destined to be carried forward with ceaseless activity by Temudjin, his lieutenants and their successors until northeast Asia, China, northern Hindustan, Persia, the Turkish Empire and Russia fell under the invincible onrush. It was a time of profound spiritual inertia, of gripping materialism or aggressive animalism throughout the whole of Asia; a general condition at once favorable to the creation of just such a storm or whirlwind of brutal materialistic aggression as that with which this history deals, and equally favorable to its triumph; for from China to Arabia and the Bosphorus there was a singular absence of the moral idealism or spiritual enthusiasm that makes men and nations invincible when attacked by superior forces dominated by mere egoism.

This work contains nineteen chapters. It opens with the earliest known legends relating to the advent of Temudjin, and traces the rise and aggressive advance of the Mongol under this great leader in the closing years of the twelfth century, and it ends with the overthrow of the Mongol power in China in the early part of the fifteenth century.

The volume is one of the most important historical works of recent years.

*The American Constitution.* By Frederic Jesup Stimson. Cloth. Pp. 259. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THIS volume consists of eight chapters that were delivered in October and November of last year at Boston in the Lowell Institute lectures. The author is Professor of Comparative Legislation in Harvard University. The subjects discussed are of deep interest to all thinking Americans. Though we do not agree with all the positions taken by the author, we regard the volume as an extremely important contribution to our political literature, and much which it contains is of the highest interest and value.

The chapters on "The Meaning of the Constitution," "Constitutional Rights Peculiar to English and American Freemen," "English Liberty and the Freedom of Labor," "Development of These Rights; Their Infringement by Kings and Their Reestablishment by the People," and "The Expression in Our Federal Constitution," are chap-



FREDERIC T. STIMSON,  
Author of "The American Constitution."

ters that every American should carefully read at the present time.

The concluding three chapters deal with "Division of Powers Between Legislative,

Executive and Judicial; and Between the Federal Government and the States," "Changes in the Constitution Now Proposed," and "Interstate Commerce, the Control of Trusts, and the Regulation of Corporations."

It is unfortunate that the work does not deal in a vital way with the evolution of government by corporate power through party machines and political bosses. To serious students of our present political conditions this ominous and subversive peril overshadows all other menaces to free government, and in a general discussion of Constitutional rights as they relate to our republican institutions, there certainly should have been some space given to the consideration of this subject.

Happily, the people as a whole are rapidly awakening to the facts that professors in conservative universities seem to be ignorant of and which the politicians no less than the feudalism of privileged wealth are extremely anxious to have the people ignore, until they have firmly established a new and subversive order,—an order that would as effectively destroy genuine republican government as the di Medici family destroyed the Republic of Florence without interfering with any of the forms of free government.

The chapters on English liberty are very rich in suggestive facts for us, and some of the author's observations are thought-arresting and should awaken readers to the peril of the present, as he indicates most clearly how we are becoming recreant to the liberties gained only after long and bitter struggles in the history of the English-speaking world. Thus, for example, Professor Stimson says of trial by jury:

"Of trial by jury I need say no word. It comes under the right to law, but is separately and expressly mentioned in Magna Charta. Congress is at present withholding it from ten millions of our people in the East.—The right to serve on juries is of equal importance. The negroes allege that they are being denied it in the South.—The right to *habeas corpus* comes under the right to liberty; that also is being withheld in the Philippine Islands.—Since Magna Charta, no man can be tried for crime unless a grand jury of twenty-three men find probable cause. This is done away with in all our insular possessions.—Under Charles I our ancestors established that treason should consist only of levying war against

the state or adhering to its enemies and giving them aid and comfort, and be evidenced by some overt act to which there are two witnesses. It was under this right that even Aaron Burr was acquitted by his political enemy, John Marshall. Yet it has recently been asserted that the mailing of political arguments to American citizens might be an overt act; and freedom of the press is forbidden in the Philippines."

In the closing chapter the author thus summarizes some of the things he has striven to impress during his discussions:

"I shall be satisfied if I have left some half a dozen concepts clear in your mind. First, local self-government and the common law, both forever essential to a free English people. Second, the separation of the powers, that the Executive shall not control legislation, or government officers assume judicial powers. Third, the great principle that has kept our Nation alive so far, that the Centralized Government of our mighty empire is confined to political powers alone, National defence, our relation to other nations, and, possibly, national improvements—such as the deepening of the Mississippi River; while the domestic affairs of the people—men's lives and liberties, their acquirement of property, and their relation to their neighbors—is left to each man's own State to control, each State wisely differing in its laws where differences of climate, race conditions or industry so demand; and that any attempt forcibly to make them all conform to a procrustean rule is the height of unwisdom and folly. And, finally, that our Constitution demands everywhere a republican form of government—everywhere that our flag shall go. As the Thirteenth Amendment puts it, slavery shall not exist—not only in any State—but in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States."

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Ernest Howard Crosby: *A Valuation and a Tribute*. By Leonard D. Abbott. Cloth. Pp. 40. Price, 50 cents. Westwood, Massachusetts: The Ariel Press.

THIS little brochure should be possessed by every reformer, and indeed, by every American who loves that which is pure, sane, broad, and morally great in life, for it is a sketch or a valuation that deals in a just and sympathetic manner with the life of as noble a man as has lived and labored in our time. Ernest

Crosby from boyhood was fine, clean-hearted, gentle, just and brave in the highest kind of bravery—moral courage. He was ever a truth-seeker. After receiving a fine education he entered politics and was sent to the New York Legislature. Here he sickened of the life he beheld and which he was so little able to reform. President Harrison offered to nominate him as judge of the International Courts at Alexandria, Egypt. It was a five-thousand-dollar-a-year position and gave the appointee ample time for reading and research. Mr. Crosby accepted the trust and the selection was ratified by the European powers concerned. While in Egypt he kept up his quest for the truth, and here it was that he experienced that new birth that changed his whole life. Mr. Abbott admirably portrays this wonderful experience which wrought a change almost as great as that which followed the vision of St. Paul on the way to Damascus, when, as Hugo says, he "fell into the light, and rose, a just man."

"Some glimpses of the spiritual and intellectual development through which he passed on his way from stolid conservatism to extreme radicalism may be had from his own writings. He has testified that in mid-life he experienced a kind of 're-birth,' and that it took place suddenly, as the result of much inner travail and conflict. During the period when this great change fell upon him he was a judge of the International Court at Alexandria, Egypt. His position as a man of distinction and authority among a primitive native population was hardly such as to conduce to radicalism of any kind. But behind his judge's robes was a pure heart and an honest soul. The time came, as it was bound to come, when he lost interest in 'judging' men. He longed to *love* them instead.

"It was a little book of Tolstoi's on 'Life that kindled in his heart a flame that no later influence was ever able to quench. One Sunday he read the book to its conclusion with a sense of overpowering uplift. And then he tried to realize its implications. As he tells us:

"The book said, 'Love others; love them calmly, strongly, profoundly,  
And you will find your immortal soul.'"  
I leaned back in my armchair, letting my hand fall with the volume in my lap,  
And with closed eyes and half a smile on my face  
I made the experiment and tried to love.

For the first time, I really let my life go forth in love, and lo, the mighty current welling up, beneath and around me, lifted me, as it were, bodily, out of time and space.

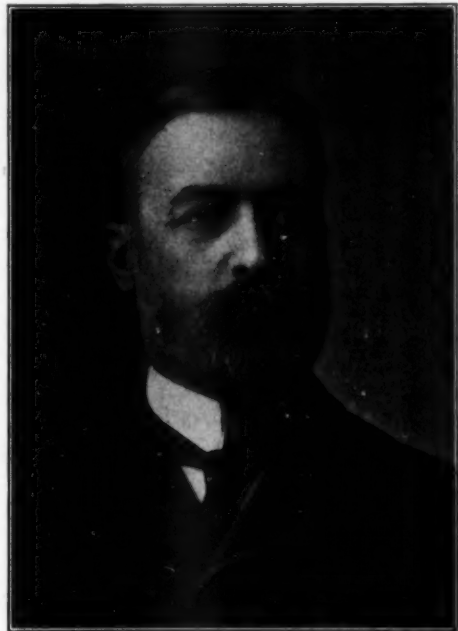
I felt the eternal poise of my indestructible soul in the regions of life everlasting.

Immortality was mine. The question which had so long baffled the creeds and the philosophers was answered."

"In this mood Crosby gave up his position in Alexandria and visited Tolstoi in Russia. There must have been something intensely beautiful in the ardor and sincerity of this splendidly-endowed personality who came to Yasnaya Poliana to lay all at the master's feet, and to dedicate his life to ideals that had burst upon him with the full force of a revelation. Tolstoi was not dead to the romance of the incident. His heart went out to the young American, and a friendship began that lasted through Crosby's life—and beyond.

"Crosby, on his side, returned to America with new visions thronging upon him. They were no longer visions of worldly eminence or material power. On ambitious of that kind he had turned his back forever. He was concerned with entirely new values."

From henceforth his was a life of service, a life of expressed love.



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ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.



"He would have summed it, I am sure," says Mr. Abbott, "as a philosophy of Love. 'I want my life to be one long love-story,' he said. Again and again he affirmed his conviction that the only attitude toward life that can bring enduring satisfaction is an attitude of love. It is a gospel as old and beautiful as that of the white Christ, but the mere generalization of love can hardly satisfy us. If Crosby had done nothing more than utter generalizations, he could not hold us. Any one can love, or can say that he loves—in the abstract. What interests us are the practical applications of love."

Mr. Abbott has rendered a service to the cause of human progress by writing this beautiful and worthy tribute.

*Dan Beard's Animal Book.* By Dan Beard. Illustrated with 116 half-tone pictures, most of which are full-page illustrations, and four colored plates from water-color drawings by Mr. Beard. Cloth. Pp. 538. Price, \$1.60 net. New York: Moffat, Yard & Company.

DAN BEARD as an artist, cartoonist and author of *Moonblight*, is too well known to our readers to need introduction. He is also one of the most widely known and popular authors of nature and out-door sport books for the young. His editorial work and his writings relating to field, forest and stream and the life found therein, have justly won for him a large clientele of healthy-minded, normal American boys and youths, on account of his *Field and Forest Handbook*, *The American Boy's Handy Book* and other similar volumes.

In his new work Mr. Beard has given the American youths a vast amount of valuable information relating to birds, beasts, reptiles and insects that makes it, considered from the naturalist's point-of-view, one of the best treatises of recent years. But its special merit is fourfold. Its more than five hundred pages are literally crowded with facts of natural history that have come for the most part under the author's personal observation. The facts are all sugar-coated, and the volume abounds in just such stories as healthy, normal boys and girls must enjoy. It is magnificently illustrated by a great number of full-page pictures, including four beautiful colored plates made from water-color paintings by Mr. Beard. Many of the full-page

half-tones are from careful drawings by the author; others are admirable half-tones from photographs. While a fourth excellence is found in the moral tone of the work. We have often hesitated to recommend otherwise excellent works, because of the lust for killing which seemed to have taken possession of the writers' imagination. With Mr. Beard precisely the reverse is evinced. In his writings the moral tone is fine. A spirit of kindness and gentleness pervades the book and cannot fail to exert a helpful influence on the minds of those who read it.

We know Mr. Beard too well to imagine he would be guilty of nature-faking; but we warn him that he had best keep his book from certain quarters. Imagine, for instance, what would follow if a certain strenuous gentleman opened the volume at page 111 and read the following:

"Goats are not the only animals addicted to eating manufactured fabrics.

"Once, while looking out of the window of a dining car, I saw a young cow in a back yard calmly chewing and *swallowing a freshly-laundered shirt*. She ate the whole of one shirt, and the sleeve of a second disappeared as my train pulled out.

"Where the Licking River empties into the Ohio, between Covington and Newport, Kentucky, on the Covington side, there is a retaining wall of stone built to keep the high bank from being washed away during the floods. The top of this wall was formerly a favorite lounging place for the Covington youngsters and the shale bar below was a favorite spot from which to swim during low water.

"One day while sitting on top of the wall watching some boys in swimming I saw a young cow walk up to the boys' heap of clothes below me, and calmly eat their damp little shirts; as the tail of the last shirt disappeared I left, because the boys were bigger than I was and I well knew that I would be held responsible for those shirts and that the cow story would not be believed. This showed caution and *boy* sense on my part, but shirt-eating does not appear to be an intellectual pursuit even for a cow."

This work abounds in personal experiences, anecdotes and happenings that remind one of a camp-fire around which a number of old trappers, hunters and woodsmen have gathered after a day's tramp, and where they are beguiling the early evening hours

telling stories of what they have witnessed in the wonder-world of wood and field.

The author knows and understands boys as well as he knows and understands the fields and forests and their multitudinous inhabitants, and this double knowledge has enabled him to write a book that any boy will enjoy and while enjoying it his mind will be absorbing a vast amount of useful information. Moreover, it will tend to teach him to observe and think upon the life around him. It is a book that should be in every home where there are children.

*The Iron Heel.* By Jack London. Cloth. Pp. 354. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

A ROMANCE from the pen of Jack London is bound to attract considerable attention. He is one of the strongest and most virile and sincere of our present novelists. He is a man of strong imagination, possessing a simple, clear and direct style at once pleasing and convincing. More than this, he is under the compulsion of an awakened conscience.

His latest novel, *The Iron Heel*, considered from a literary and imaginative point-of-view, is one of his greatest works of fiction; yet, as we shall presently point out, it is to us the most disappointing work that has come from his pen. The romance professes to be an historical fragment discovered seven hundred years from the present time and four hundred years after the establishment of popular government under free and just conditions in the United States. The preface purports to have been written by a scholar who lived at the time the manuscript was discovered, and from it we are told that for three hundred

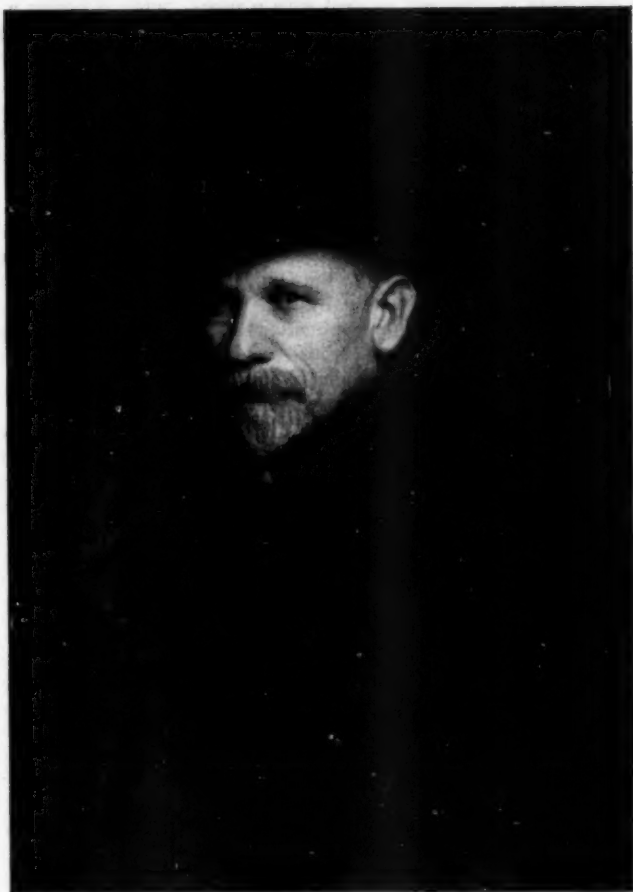


Photo. by Pach Bros., New York.

DAN. BEARD.

years from the present time America was under the crushing despotism of an oligarchy of wealth known as the Iron Heel,—an oligarchy which evolved from the plutocracy now rampant in our midst and whose rapid and steady advance has been so marked during the past eighteen years. These three hundred years, we are given to understand, were a time of merciless despotism in which the condition of the toiling millions was pitiable beyond description. Time and again they revolted, but every time they were mercilessly crushed, until causes that favored the revolution enabled them, three hundred years from the present, to break the power of the despotism and secure for the people true liberty.

The story is supposed to deal with a revolutionary epoch commencing within four years of the present and extending over a number of years. It vividly describes the rapid advance of the plutocracy which has marked recent years, and the passing of a number of bills which may easily be used in the future for the crushing of the people if the plutocracy continues its corruption and control of government and is enabled to further ramify itself in the press and other public opinion-forming agencies of the land. It shows how ruling after ruling by the courts took away the rights of the people and tended to curb and crush organized labor, and how from to-day on the plutocracy steadily became more and more powerful, arrogant and despotic.

Then came the revolt of 1912 and its merciless crushing of the people; a threat of war with Germany, frustrated by the strike of the Socialist workers in both Germany and America, after which the plutocracy wins over certain labor leaders and organizations

while it begins a steady and systematic crushing of the toilers in other departments of labor, its purpose being steadily to crush the toilers into absolute servitude, but the crushing was carried forward in a shrewd and diplomatic manner, so as to reduce only a section at a time. In this way the plutocracy itself was never seriously imperilled.

But the toilers were not altogether blind to the systematic program for their crushing, and another terrible revolt followed,—a revolt that is very vividly described. But it is unnecessary to give the terrible story of these unsuccessful attempts of the people to thwart or check the advancing despotism of the Iron Heel. Sufficient to say that it is a powerful book, abounding in profoundly thoughtful suggestions that should appeal to all patriots who love free government. Take, for example, the following deeply suggestive observations in which Mr. London points out one of the most amazing phenomena of present-day society—the unconscious self-deception of the masters of the bread who defy the ethics of the Nazarene while posing as moral men and Christian citizens. It is this self-deception and the fact that society takes the estimate of these great moral criminals as to their godliness at par, that largely accounts for their toleration of hideously unjust conditions to-day.

"They, as a class, believed that they alone maintained civilization. It was their belief that if ever they weakened, the great beasts would engulf them and everything of beauty and wonder and joy and good in its cavernous and slime-dripping maw. Without them, anarchy would reign supreme and humanity would drop backward into the primitive night out of which it had so painfully emerged. The horrid picture of anarchy was held always before their child's eyes until they, in turn, obsessed by this cultivated fear, held the picture of anarchy before the eyes of the children that followed them. This was the beast to be stamped upon, and the highest duty of the aristocrat was to stamp upon it. In short, they alone, by their unremitting toil and sacrifice, stood between weak humanity and the all-devouring beast; and they believed it, firmly believed it.

"I cannot lay too great stress upon this high ethical righteousness of the whole oligarch class. This has been the strength of the Iron Heel, and too many of the comrades have been slow or loath to realize it. Many



JACK LONDON,  
Author of "The Iron Heel."

of them have ascribed the strength of the Iron Heel to its system of reward and punishment. This is a mistake. Heaven and hell may be the prime factors of zeal in the religion of a fanatic; but for the great majority of the religious, heaven and hell are incidental to right and wrong. Love of the right, desire for the right, unhappiness with anything less than the right—in short, right conduct is the prime factor of religion. And so with the Oligarchy. Prisons, banishment and degradation, honors and palaces and wonder-cities, are all incidental. The great driving force of the oligarchs is the belief that they are doing right. Never mind the exceptions, and never mind the oppression and injustice in which the Iron Heel was conceived. All is granted. The point is that the strength of the Oligarchy to-day lies in its satisfied conception of its own righteousness.

"For that matter, the strength of the Revolution, during these frightful twenty years, has resided in nothing else than the sense of righteousness. In no other way can be explained our sacrifices and martyrdoms."

Here also are facts marshalled that should fall on the awakened conscience of American citizens as the sound of an alarm bell at midnight. And yet in spite of these excellences this work is very disappointing to us, for we believe it is the kind of prophecy that will tend to defeat the objects which the author undoubtedly desired to further. Moreover, it is, in our judgment, precisely the opposite of the kind of literature that is needed to-day. We need literature that will strengthen, encourage, in spirit and hearten all reformers, no less than the people who are under the wheel,—literature that shall instill courage and moral enthusiasm and lead all friends of justice to unite fearlessly and resolutely in a step-by-step plan of progress that by peaceable means will lead to the triumph of justice.

We know the answer is that the ballot-box is being stuffed, and that frauds are becoming alarmingly frequent at elections; also that reactionary influences in the judiciary are nullifying legislation for the protection of children and women, and are by decision after decision taking the power from labor to protect itself from the great masters of the bread and of the government, who, in spite of law defiance, sneer at all efforts to make them amenable to the provisions of justice. We know that there is truth—much truth—in these charges; but the tampering

with the ballot-box has not yet become general, and if labor will unite at a single election it can easily win back all and more than it has lost.

If the government is reactionary and if judges usurp unconstitutional power in behalf of entrenched wealth, it is because they know that labor will not unite at the ballot-box, while capital always is a unit in the furthering of its selfish interests and the interests of its servile servants. The toilers have far more to hope for from union at the ballot-box than from any appeal to force. Union and a persistent educational agitation which shall appeal to the conscience and sense of justice in the people,—these are the supreme requisites of the hour.

Again, we believe Mr. London has misread the history of civilization since the dawn of Modern Times. Before every forward step, oppression has gone forward, becoming bolder, more aggressive, insolent, confident and determined at every step, while it seemed from month to month and year to year that the cause of the people became more and more hopeless, until suddenly the great clock struck; suddenly the people aroused, united and moved forward. So it was with the Stuarts; so it was with King George and the Colonies; so it was with the old *régime* in France; and, finally, so it was with the slave power before the election of Lincoln.

The people are always very slow to act. They will bear much, but every unjust and oppressive act is laid up against the day of reckoning. Now the people are awakening. All the powers of the plutocracy cannot put them to sleep again. But they should be enthused and not discouraged. They should be shown that through uniting in a battle for Direct-Legislation and the right of recall, and by uniting only on men pledged to carry forward the first demands of labor, they can by the step-by-step method regain all that they have lost and get the government back into the hands of the people; and then by peaceable means secure conditions favorable to equality of opportunities and of rights and conditions under which every child will be protected in his rights and every woman; while the aged will be cared for as venerable service should be cared for in an enlightened land.

All talk of forcible revolution is not only foolish, but it is bound to injure the people's cause; and to picture the plutocracy as



invincible, and the desperate attempts of the people as successive and tragic failures, is little calculated to in any degree help on the cause of social justice.

The plutocracy is not invincible. The people can and will win and we believe they will win by peaceable measures. We know they will if they have the wisdom to unite and fight for that which is to-day obtainable and which will quickly get the government into their own hands so that they can peacefully secure their rights and that measure of justice which is rightfully due them.

We can well understand Mr. London's mood. He has been a victim of shameful injustice himself and he has lived with and studied the people of the abyss. He has seen and felt the tragedies of the poor to-day throughout Christian lands; and these things have, we think, made him unduly hopeless and have unfortunately so colored his thought as to make his book a detriment rather than a help to the cause of social justice in our day.

*The Lady of the Mount.* By Frederic S. Isham. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 390. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.



FREDERIC S. ISHAM,  
Author of "The Lady of The Mount."

THIS is one of the best novels of its class that has appeared during the present year. It is a piece of light romantic fiction written in excellent English in a smooth, flowing style, and will please readers who are merely in search of a well-written romantic novel, a diverter of thought that will tend to rest the mind when wearied through exacting labors.

The story is cast during the stormy days that immediately preceded the French Revolution, and the warring spirits of the old and new order pervade the book, which is highly exciting and melodramatic in character, abounding in dramatic incidents and stirring action. It will tax the credulity of the reader, as do most melodramas and romantic novels of this class. It is, however, we think, the best of Mr. Isham's novels and a book that will please those who enjoy this kind of literature.

*The Black Bag.* By Louis Joseph Vance. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 441. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

IN OUR childhood days well-published and attractively illustrated works of fiction were for the most part written by masters, such as Scott, Dickens, Bulwer, Hawthorne, Thackeray and Eliot. It was the aim of thoughtful people to secure at least a fair representation of these great works for their libraries, and these volumes were read and discussed in the homes of culture, while at the same time the boys of the households not unfrequently secreted and read surreptitiously the hair-raising adventures of Jack Karkaway and the yellow-backed dime novels of the time.

Nowadays novels are appearing that bear a far nearer relation to the dime novel than to the great and worthy masterpieces of fiction. Veritable trash is coming from the presses of leading publishers, well gotten up and oftentimes beautifully illustrated.

The latest of the trashy stories of this class is *The Black Bag*, a novel of crime and mystery. The scenes are laid in London, and in it impossibility treads on the heels of improbability through every page. The book, if ingenious, is wanting in imaginative power, literary worth or striking elements of novelty which might to some extent compensate the reader for the extraordinary demand on his credulity. There is plenty of action and the outcome is satisfactory. This, we think, is

about all than can truthfully be said in the book's favor.

*Delight: A Story of a Little Christian Scientist.*  
By Gertrude Smith. Illustrated. Cloth.  
Pp. 220. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia:  
Henry Altemus Company.

THIS is the story of a little crippled girl who, taken from an orphan home and adopted by a Christian Scientist, is later entirely cured and becomes the sunshine of the community. It is a pleasing little tale, tastefully illustrated, and will appeal to little folks of from eight to twelve years of age. The atmosphere is morally wholesome, though *Delight* will probably impress many readers as being too uniformly good to be an ordinary flesh and blood child of the twentieth century. However, the effect of holding the ideal of ever expressing love and fearlessness before the child mind as something to be attained, cannot be other than helpful on the plastic mind of children who are privileged to enjoy the story.

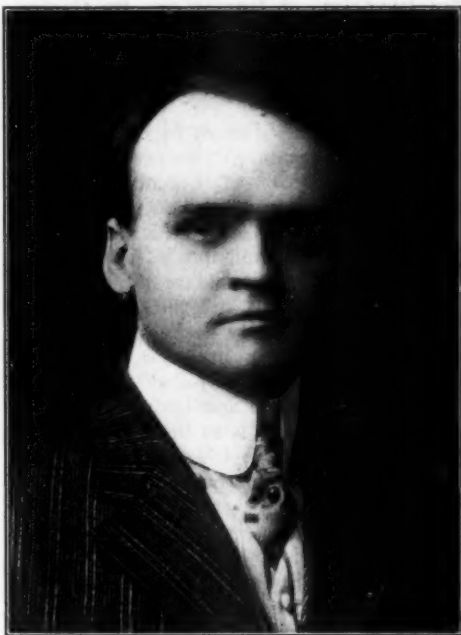
*Gems of Thought.* Compiled by Henry B. Damon. Printed on deckle-edged paper. Bound in paper. Price, 50 cents. Kato-nah, New York.

THIS is a small collection of choice selections from the good and the great, printed in script and tastefully gotten up; a scrap-book of brief and meaningful utterances.

*The Great Secret.* By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 293. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS new romance by Mr. Oppenheim, while being far superior to his last preceding novel, *A Lost Leader*, is yet much inferior to many of his earlier works, notably *A Prince of Sinners*. As we have had occasion to remark before when noticing Mr. Oppenheim's work, it is indeed unfortunate that a writer possessing the genius which produced *A Prince of Sinners* should elect to play to the gallery as he has done in the numerous volumes that have come from his facile pen during recent years.

*The Great Secret* is an exceptionally able story of the kind. Stirring and exciting events and hair-breadth escapes follow each other swiftly, and there is not a dull line



LOUIS JOSEPH VANCE,  
Author of "Black Bag."

from cover to cover. A bold international political intrigue, carried on by daring and unscrupulous men and in which Germany plays a far from creditable part, forms the nucleus about which the story is woven. The climax of the novel which occurs in the office of a great London daily is one of the strongest and most thrilling scenes in recent fiction of this class. AMY C. RICH.

*The Pursuit of Priscilla.* By E. S. Field. Cloth. Pp. 112. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

CONSIDERED from the purely literary point of view, this is one of the brightest and most engaging short stories that belong to the time-killing class that has appeared in months. It is a love story of the comedy class, told in bright and clever dialogue that is sure to hold the interest of the reader from cover to cover. Mr. Field has given the American public a story as clever as Anthony Hope's *Dolly Dialogues*, though the atmosphere is not morally stimulating, as the characters belong to the over-rich careless class devoid of all serious aim in life.

*The Psychology of Inspiration.* By George Lansing Raymond. Cloth. Pp. 340. Price, \$1.40 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

IT IS, we think, difficult to over-estimate the value of this volume at the present critical pass in the history of Christianity. The author graduated from Williams College in 1866, and holds the titles of A.M. and L.H.D. from that institution, and of A.M. from Princeton. He is also a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary and the author of a number of important works. For many years he has been a professor in leading institutions, occupying chairs successively in Williams, Princeton and George Washington Universities. He is at once a bold and fearless thinker and yet a deeply religious man. He believes that we have reached a point in our history when the reason of the religious man must be satisfied as it cannot be satisfied if he is longer required to pursue the ostrich policy in the presence of theological problems that are contradictory in character or which are in the light of present-day knowledge clearly inaccurate. In explaining the genesis of his work the author observes:

"It is the outgrowth of an endeavor—exceptional, as it is thought, in its processes, though not in its purposes—to find a way in which all that is essential to the methods and results of scientific and historic research can be accepted, while, at the same time, nothing that is essential to the theory or practice of religion need be rejected. That, in our age, any endeavor with this object in view is deserving of the effort expended upon it requires no arguing."

He cannot accept the conventional unscientific attitude of the Christian world in the presence of contradictory religious passages and problems that demand critical and brave handling.

"Most of our Protestant churches," he observes, "profess to accept the principles underlying the Protestant Reformation, especially the one assigning authority to the Christian Scriptures, and the one asserting the right of private judgment in interpreting these. But most of our Protestant theologians seem reluctant, at least, to admit that either principle should be carried to a logical conclusion. In doing this, as must be confessed, they are faithfully following the examples set by both Calvin and Luther.

But historians, without exception, attribute mainly to these examples the sudden check put, in the sixteenth century, upon the progress of the Reformation. May future historians be saved from attributing to the same a like check put, in the twentieth century, upon the progress of all Christianity! Why is the danger of such a check a present menace? Because the science of the day trains the mind to be candid and logical; and theology is inclined to be neither. If, for instance, two passages of Scripture seem to conflict, and so evidently, too, that every thinking mind must perceive it, the theologian, instead of frankly admitting the fact and then trying to find a theory that will justify it as a fact, either denies that it is a fact, or, as will be shown hereafter, makes only one of the two passages authoritative. Again, while admitting, as a matter of theory, the right of private judgment, he by no means always acknowledges it in practice, especially when another's interpretation of Scripture differs greatly from his own. . . . This is the same as to say that, in this age of general education and scientific thinking, religion, in order to preserve its influence over men, must be prepared, without prevaricating or hedging, to satisfy all the requirements of the rational nature. One object of the treatise that follows is to present a theory in accordance with which this can be done."

Of the religious attitude of his thought Professor Raymond has this to say:

"In the first place, while emphasizing the importance of rationality in religion, the arguments advanced are not in the least degree allied to those of 'rationalism' in the materialistic sense in which this term is ordinarily used. On the contrary, they tend distinctly toward belief in the spiritual, and this to a degree not true of very many of the Christian discussions of our times. In the second place, while emphasizing spiritual discernment as necessary to the understanding of the literal statements of the Scriptures, the arguments are not advanced as pleas for—nor, indeed, against—any merely esoteric method of interpreting occult symbols or allegories. On the contrary, the whole line of thought tends distinctly toward confidence in the sufficient intellectual equipment of those who exercise merely honest and unbiased common sense."

That the author has thought broadly and deeply on the subject will be evident to all

readers. It is a brave, manly effort to harmonize Christianity with modern thought. Professor Raymond does not hold to the inerrancy of the Scriptures. He believes that "truth is never entirely contained in the statement of it; that the inner, spiritual nature is susceptible to influences not communicated through eye or ear; that these influences are suggestive rather than dictatorial in character, and are, therefore, often ambiguous and inexact in expression," but are of the greatest value when addressed to a mind open for the truth and with the courage to think bravely. While he is profoundly religious, he recognizes a fact which a growing number of the best religious scholars throughout Christendom are coming to realize—namely, that if Christianity is to become a great vital, life-moulding influence it must leave the mind free and untrammelled, and its scholars and interpreters must evince breadth of thought and absolute fearlessness in the presence of hard problems, and while being reverent in spirit they must also be critical.

It is a book that we can heartily recommend to persons interested in the liberal consideration of religious problems.

*Old Wives for New.* By David Graham Phillips. Cloth. Pp. 495. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

IN MANY respects David Graham Phillips is the strongest novelist in America to-day. He is by far the most faithful historian of the plutocracy. Each of his leading novels gives a vivid picture of the new rich of America—the republic-destroying plutocracy—in some of its aspects. Thus, for example, in *The Deluge* and in the novel that in many respects is a companion, *Light-Fingered Gentry*, he takes the American people behind the scenes of the great gambling paradise of Wall Street and shows the secret workings of the high financiers with their hands on the treasuries of the great insurance companies, trust companies and banks, and in their secret conclaves as they stack the cards and prepare to rob a public which has been industriously deceived by false misrepresentations. His presentation of all these things is so vivid and minutely true as to be photographic in character. He does not preach or rail against the iniquitous disclosures, but he tears away the mask behind which the great moral crim-

inals of America, who pose as ultra-respectables, work in their acquisition of wealth that they have in no wise honestly earned.

In *The Plum-Tree* he shows how the feudalism of privileged wealth, the corrupt and corrupting gamblers and high financiers, defeat popular government, thwart the wishes of the people and turn a republic into a government of corrupt corporate wealth administered for the enrichment of the privileged few and the political elevation of their tools and handy-men.

*The Cost* gives one of the finest and most intimate and faithful studies of a typical modern Warwick of the commercial feudalism that has been written.

*The Second Generation*, in many respects Mr. Phillips' most pleasing and delightful novel, shows the effect of great wealth on the children of the new rich—the unfortunate boys and girls who suddenly find themselves in rich homes without any moral training along the lines of fundamental morality and basic democracy; and in his latest novel, *Old Wives for New*, we have another sectional view of the plutocracy.

Here is pictured the marital or home and sexual relations of the new rich. It is a powerful story, as unpleasant as it is vividly faithful to conditions as they exist. Indeed, it is a striking example of psychological realism in fiction. Here the souls of the leading characters appear undraped. Mr. Phillips' realism differs materially from that of the great European novelists who give us in photographic minuteness details of material life, often in all its most repulsive bearings. He tears the mask of hypocrisy from the corrupt and self-righteous conventionalism of the day and says, Behold the real characters behind this seeming virtue and rectitude. Fasten your eyes on the character rather than on the reputation of the men and women with whom you come in contact. There is something relentless in the manner in which he brushes aside the pleasing subterfuges behind which many people seek to hide their faults and weaknesses. The work is also rich in common-sense hints relating to health, and vital suggestions touching things which tend to destroy love and favor divorce. Few things in life are more essentially tragic than the spectacle of two persons who once were all in all to each other, drifting apart, losing all the deep affection that they once felt for each other.



*Old Wives for New* is not a pleasant story. It is too much concerned with the domestic infelicity, the dead fires on love's altars, the license or loose morals, the cynicism and self-deception of many of the chief characters. Yet inasmuch as all the characters live, move and appeal to the reader as real men and women; inasmuch as the author's vivid imagination enables him not only to present flesh and blood men and women, but also to penetrate the mask and reveal the workings of the human heart and brain; and inasmuch as the story is a vivid and faithful sectional view of one phase of the life of the irresponsible new rich who are the greatest enemies of the Republic, this novel is one of the most interesting and important works of fiction of the year. Like all Mr. Phillips' leading stories, it holds the interest of the reader from the opening page to the highly dramatic climax with which it closes.

*Seeing England with Uncle John.* By Anne Warner. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 492. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is the best work that has come from the pen of this popular author, if we except *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary*. The story deals chiefly with four characters: the inimitable Uncle John, an unfortunate college professor who is being taken through England with Uncle John, and Yvonne and Lee, the niece of Uncle John, and her husband. The young people, who reside in Oxford, one morning while lost to the world in the charm of their little baby, receive a cablegram stating that Uncle John sails on Thursday for England. They go to Liverpool to meet him, only to find that he has left for Carlisle. From Carlisle the young people chase the flying American as he does Scotland in almost express-train time.

The interest of the work is greatly enhanced by the breaks in the monotony of Uncle John's monologue, every other chapter being a letter from Yvonne to her mother. The monologues are very amusing, if the reader does not become surfeited upon them, and the chapters in which Yvonne describes the various cities visited and the lively experiences of herself and husband with peculiar people, including Bessie, the seemingly innocent and friendless American girl just from a convent, and Mrs. Joyce, who imagines she was Mary

Queen of Scots in a former incarnation and that her husband was at one time her pet monkey, are very charming and afford the necessary breaks in the humorous monologues of Uncle John, who is the most maddening traveling companion known to literature—irritable, loquacious and unconsciously funny. Persons who enjoy Anne Warner's writings will derive much pleasure from this latest volume.

*The Four-Pools Mystery.* Cloth. Pp. 336. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS story is one of the best mystery tales of recent years. It is written in a clear, direct narrative style, much after the manner of modern journalists' stories of exciting and dramatic news. True, we occasionally come across some rather peculiar terms used for the objects they are supposed to describe, as, for example, when the author speaks of the heroine's "sparkling cheeks." But such slips are unfrequent, and on the whole the story is well told. It is concerned with the murder of an old Southern planter who owns a large stock farm in the Shenandoah Valley—a farm on which a number of negroes are employed. At the opening of the tale the family "h'ant" is supposed to be making its occasional visitation much to the terror and demoralization of the negro servants. But the excitement occasioned by the supposed "h'ant" is followed by a robbery and later by the murder of the old planter. The son is suspected, and indeed a strong chain of circumstantial evidence is forged around him. The narrative is told by the nephew of the murdered man who is a New York lawyer on a visit to his uncle. He with the aid of a newspaper man of keen insight successfully unravels the tangle and clears the accused.

*The City of Delight.* A Love Romance of the Siege and Fall of Jerusalem. By Elizabeth Miller. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 448. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS latest novel by the gifted author of *The Yoke*, a tale of ancient Egypt, deals with the fall of Jerusalem. The heroine, Laodice, the daughter of a rich Hebrew of Ascalon, had been betrothed to the younger

Maccabee, when she was yet a little girl and the plighted husband was but ten years of age. At the time the story opens Maccabeus has grown to manhood. Jerusalem has driven out the Romans and is in a state of uproar. The Maccabee has been spending his years in Grecian cities, but he has roused himself and determined to go to Jerusalem, assume leadership and become king of the Jews. He has written to Costobarus, the father of Laodice, to send the daughter to Jerusalem, together with the dowry, a sum which it is believed will be sufficient to insure victory to the cause of Zion and enthrone the Maccabee. Simultaneously with the entrance of the bearer of this letter, the plague visits Ascalon. The father and Laodice set out for Jerusalem, bearing the daughter's dowry, but the plague soon strikes down the father and other members of the little party. A strange woman who had asked protection of the caravan robs Laodice of her dowry, and from thence on the story abounds in exciting and often harrowing incidents. The poor girl is overtaken by the Maccabee, who, however, does not discover her identity, and leads her to believe that his unprincipled and dissolute companion, Julian of Ephesus, is the real Maccabee. Arriving at Jerusalem, Laodice is beset with all manner of perils. Calamity and misfortune stare her in the face at every turn; but from the first of her trip she has come in contact from time to time with mem-

bers of the despised sect of Christians, and in all instances they have succored and aided her and others of the unfortunate ones of her acquaintance. They teach her of the Nazarene, and at length, after a long night of suspense, humiliation and disappointment that almost becomes despair, the sun rises and the darkness flees. The end of the story is as the golden glory of an evening sunset, for the satisfaction that is only known where true love finds its own falls to the lot of the lovers.

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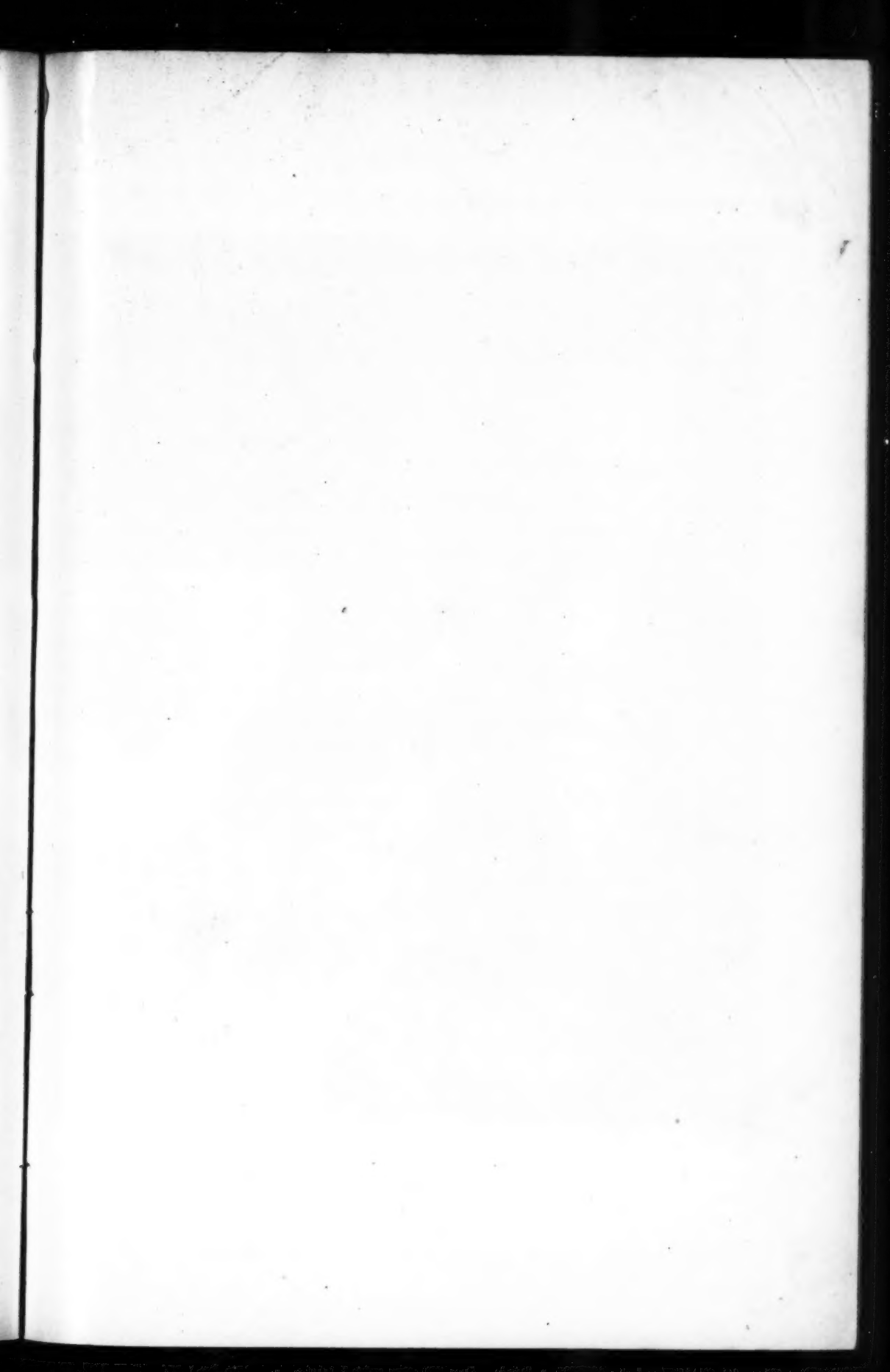
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*Old Wives for New* is not a pleasant story. It is too much concerned with the domestic infelicity, the dead fires on love's altars, the license or loose morals, the cynicism and self-deception of many of the chief characters. Yet inasmuch as all the characters live, move and appeal to the reader as real men and women; inasmuch as the author's vivid imagination enables him not only to present flesh and blood men and women, but also to penetrate the mask and reveal the workings of the human heart and brain; and inasmuch as the story is a vivid and faithful sectional view of one phase of the life of the irresponsible new rich who are the greatest enemies of the Republic, this novel is one of the most interesting and important works of fiction of the year. Like all Mr. Phillips' leading stories, it holds the interest of the reader from the opening page to the highly dramatic climax with which it closes.

*Seeing England with Uncle John.* By Anne Warner. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 492. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

This is the best work that has come from the pen of this popular author, if we except *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary*. The story deals chiefly with four characters: the inimitable Uncle John, an unfortunate college professor who is being taken through England with Uncle John, and Yvonne and Lee, the niece of Uncle John, and her husband. The young people, who reside in Oxford, one morning while lost to the world in the charm of their little baby, receive a cablegram stating that Uncle John sails on Thursday for England. They go to Liverpool to meet him, only to find that he has left for Carlisle. From Carlisle the young people chase the flying American as he does Scotland in almost express-train time.

The interest of the work is greatly enhanced by the breaks in the monotony of Uncle John's monologue, every other chapter being a letter from Yvonne to her mother. The monologues are very amusing, if the reader does not become surfeited upon them, and the chapters in which Yvonne describes the various cities visited and the lively experiences of herself and husband with peculiar people, including Bessie, the seemingly innocent and friendless American girl just from a convent, and Mrs. Joyce, who imagines she was Mary

Queen of Scots in a former incarnation and that her husband was at one time her pet monkey, are very charming and afford the necessary breaks in the humorous monologues of Uncle John, who is the most maddening traveling companion known to literature—irritable, loquacious and unconsciously funny. Persons who enjoy Anne Warner's writings will derive much pleasure from this latest volume.

*The Four-Pools Mystery.* Cloth. Pp. 336. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

This story is one of the best mystery tales of recent years. It is written in a clear, direct narrative style, much after the manner of modern journalists' stories of exciting and dramatic news. True, we occasionally come across some rather peculiar terms used for the objects they are supposed to describe, as, for example, when the author speaks of the heroine's "sparkling cheeks." But such slips are unfrequent, and on the whole the story is well told. It is concerned with the murder of an old Southern planter who owns a large stock farm in the Shenandoah Valley—a farm on which a number of negroes are employed. At the opening of the tale the family "h'ant" is supposed to be making its occasional visitation much to the terror and demoralization of the negro servants. But the excitement occasioned by the supposed "h'ant" is followed by a robbery and later by the murder of the old planter. The son is suspected, and indeed a strong chain of circumstantial evidence is forged around him. The narrative is told by the nephew of the murdered man who is a New York lawyer on a visit to his uncle. He with the aid of a newspaper man of keen insight successfully unravels the tangle and clears the accused.

*The City of Delight.* A Love Romance of the Siege and Fall of Jerusalem. By Elizabeth Miller. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 448. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

This latest novel by the gifted author of *The Yoke*, a tale of ancient Egypt, deals with the fall of Jerusalem. The heroine, Laodice, the daughter of a rich Hebrew of Ascalon, had been betrothed to the younger

Maccabee, when she was yet a little girl and the plighted husband was but ten years of age. At the time the story opens Maccabeus has grown to manhood. Jerusalem has driven out the Romans and is in a state of uproar. The Maccabee has been spending his years in Grecian cities, but he has roused himself and determined to go to Jerusalem, assume leadership and become king of the Jews. He has written to Costobarus, the father of Laodice, to send the daughter to Jerusalem, together with the dowry, a sum which it is believed will be sufficient to insure victory to the cause of Zion and enthrone the Maccabee. Simultaneously with the entrance of the bearer of this letter, the plague visits Ascalon. The father and Laodice set out for Jerusalem, bearing the daughter's dowry, but the plague soon strikes down the father and other members of the little party. A strange woman who had asked protection of the caravan robs Laodice of her dowry, and from thence on the story abounds in exciting and often harrowing incidents. The poor girl is overtaken by the Maccabee, who, however, does not discover her identity, and leads her to believe that his unprincipled and dissolute companion, Julian of Ephesus, is the real Maccabee. Arriving at Jerusalem, Laodice is beset with all manner of perils. Calamity and misfortune stare her in the face at every turn; but from the first of her trip she has come in contact from time to time with mem-

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